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ABSTRACT

This study describes the legal status, aims, organization, resources, role and future prospects of the independent educational sector in five Southern African countries and the context in which it operates. The term "independent" schools is meant to include what traditionally have been called private schools, and also includes schools that are run by either charitable or non-profit making institutions that differ from the state system by reason of their independent status and their freedom to control their own affairs. Much of the report is devoted to independent education in the country of South Africa. This information is organized into six chapters: (1) "The Historical Development of the Educational System"; (2) "The Origins and Development of the English-based System of Private Schools"; (3) "Statistics"; (4) "The Constitutional and Legal Background: Rights and Controls"; (5) "The Variety of Private Schools and Their Co-ordinating Bodies"; and (6) "The Status and Future of Independent Education." Similar information is presented, in a briefer form, about independent education in Zimbabwe. A brief note also is included about the small number of independent schools that exist in Zambia, Botswana, and Malawi. (A list of private school associations is appended.) (DB)

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INDEPENDENT EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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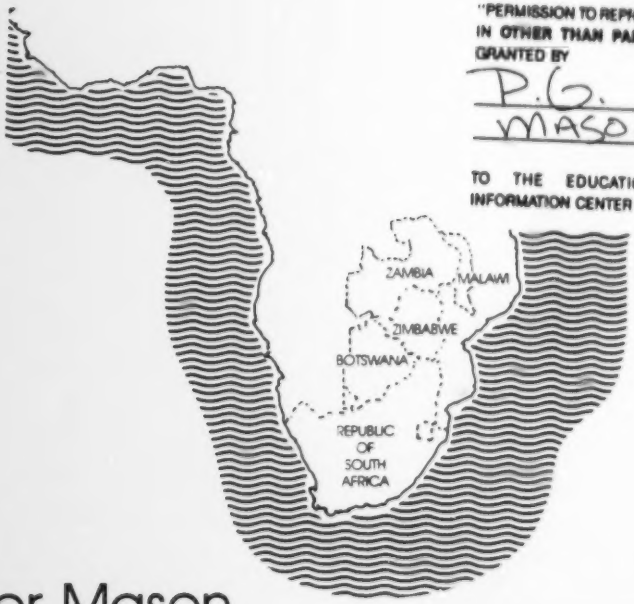

by
Peter Mason

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Preface

This account of Independent Education in Southern Africa follows the pattern of earlier studies in the series. I was fortunate to spend five weeks in South Africa in the autumn of 1988 and three weeks in Zimbabwe and Malawi in autumn 1989 visiting schools, meeting government officials, parents, the press and educationists and attending the annual conferences of the Heads of South African and Zimbabwe Independent Schools. As in North America and the Antipodes, the Independent Schools of Southern Africa in membership of these conferences have inherited from the British boarding and day schools which mostly supplied their founders the English tradition of 'grammar school' education in godliness and good learning as exemplified in what used to be called the 'public schools'. What makes their development of special interest is the contribution in recent years of schools which were established to serve the European community to the provision of multi-racial education in the volatile and rapidly changing societies to which they belong. The title of this study, Independent Education in Southern Africa, reflects the deliberate choice of this description by what have traditionally been called 'private' schools both in the UK and Europe generally as well as in former British colonies including South Africa and Zimbabwe and which until recently have usually been referred to as 'private' in legislation and in popular usage. In the main 'independent' schools are today either charitable or non-profit-making institutions which differ from the state system by reason of their independence and freedom to control their own affairs. In the text which follows the word private has been retained where it better suited the historical or the legislative and administrative context. The general public in the countries referred to still tends to use the older, more familiar term.

In South Africa, where state education is still racially segregated, on average something like 15% of their intake are the children of Black, Coloured or Asian parents and they have been pioneers in what are called Outreach programmes designed to help able but disadvantaged Blacks to gain qualifications they would otherwise be denied and so to promote upward social mobility – a policy which has been tacitly endorsed by government, which has maintained its subsidies to HMC schools. Schools in membership of the more radical SA Independent Schools Association and the NEST and LEAF schools, meanwhile, aim for a more equally-based racial mixture which does not qualify for government aid but attracts support from industry and from overseas. The Catholic Church was first to declare for multi-racialism in its White schools, though its government-aided Open Schools are still predominantly White, as are the schools controlled by the Jewish Board of Education. Until there is resolution of the racial issue, whether by the establishment of majority rule or in some other way, it is impossible to forecast how independent schools will fare in the longer term and how much they will need to adapt to a more egalitarian society in which inevitably Whites will be outnumbered by more than 10 to 1.

Recent events in South Africa show a significant and encouraging shift in attitude both by the National Party in government and amongst the ANC and other campaigners for something like full majority rule: but, without some more radical concessions by goverment which would outrage the conservative Afrikaner traditionalists and perhaps some present White supporters of the abolition of apartheid, further progress is far from certain and it would be rash to underestimate the danger of explosion while the flash point remains as low as it is even to-day.

In Zimbabwe, where education is now officially multi-racial, Mr. Mugabe's government, faced with the problems of an enormous expansion in demand for education and an equivalent lack of resources, has not discouraged the expansion of the independent Trust Schools and has continued to support them financially alongside the Mission and similar grant-aided schools which provide education for 90% of African children: but his Education Act gives him powers of control which, if applied, would deprive them of any real independence. Like their South African cousins they offer non-Europeans the opportunity to enjoy their comparative academic expertise and learn about the social and moral values for which they stand: and as long as present policies continue they seem assured of a role in what is, for the most part, a tolerant multi-racial society.

It seemed worthwhile to include a brief note about the small number of independent schools, mostly on the English pattern, which have continued since independence in Zambia, Botswana and Malawi: and to give a somewhat more detailed account of a visit to Dr. Banda's Kamuzu Academy.

My debt of gratitude for uniformly warm and generous hospitality to my wife and myself and for patient explanation of policy and practice is something I can only acknowledge here in general terms: but I must make special mention of five friends whose help was beyond price – Graham Clarke, formerly Secretary of APS, Mark Henning, formerly Headmaster of St. Stithian's and now General Director of the ISC in South Africa, Mrs. Dorothy Twiss, formerly Headmistress of Arundel and now Secretary of the combined Associations of Governors and Heads in Zimbabwe and lastly David and Ingrid Wylde, who, after a spell at MGS, returned to South Africa where David is now HM of St. Stithians. Their immense knowledge and experience have been invaluable both during and since my educational safaris in Southern Africa and Zimbabwe.

Peter Mason, February 1990

South Africa

INTRODUCTION – THE NATIONAL BACKGROUND

South Africans are fond of reminding the visiting European – not without some justification – that theirs is a 'third world' country. It is true that the great majority of Black Africans, who constitute 72% of a total population of more than 24m. (compared with 16% for Whites, 9% for Coloureds – mixed race – and 3% for Asians) have a standard of living as basic as that of their fellows in many African countries, and that, despite some stirrings of reform, there are gross inequalitites in the distribution of wealth, power and opportunity between them and the ruling classes, not dissimilar to those which can be observed in countries like Zimbabwe, Nigeria or, at the worst, in Mozambique or Upper Volta, – inequalities whose rapid alleviation is at present, as elsewhere in the Third World, beyond the resources of the South African economy.

In truth, however, the challenge in South Africa is both more complex and more perilous and the differences are greater than the similarities. In the first place, the 4.5 million Whites, 3/5 of whom speak Afrikaans and 2/5 English, form a dominant but not united group, whose roots and very considerable wealth are in South Africa. The Afrikaners have no homeland in Europe to which they can look to return and cannot, as some of their fellow Europeans did in Zimbabwe and elsewhere, expect to be received as refugees in other African countries if power is at some stage transferred to an indigenous government. The long history of colonial rivalry between Dutch and British settlers with markedly different traditions of belief, culture and social habit, both of whom have left their implant on the Black and Coloured majority, the concentration of power in the hands of Afrikaners since the establishment of the Republic, and the enforcement of two official White languages in education complicate the inherent problems which face all 'third world' societies in achieving integration.

Secondly, South Africa's economy is in world terms an average rather than a poor one, with a GDP per capita of around $1,900, which puts it on a level with countries like Mexico, Portugal or Yugoslavia (see Clem Sunter, *The World and South Africa in the 1990's*, Human and Rouseau, 1987); and by reason of its resources in minerals, in particular in gold, which are among the richest in the world, it has up till the present been able to avoid the crisis of debt which faces most 'third world' economies. Whether it can advance fast enough to find the huge resources needed to overcome the inequalities between the racial groups and the tensions they cause is another question. It has, as Sunter points out, a good climate and infrastructure, cheapish power and skills in large-scale management and finance and is well placed for world-trade, but lacks the skills and experience needed for competition in modern 'high tech' business. Moreover, it is increasingly under pressure from sanctions which inflate the cost of living and public expenditure and restrict imports of books and sophisticated equipment.

Thirdly, its isolation from the world community tends to produce a siege mentality which intensifies the intransigence of extremists both amongst Afrikaans-speaking White members of the AWB (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), who wish to preserve racial segregation and the privileged status of the White community, and among Black and Coloured supporters of the ANC (African National Congress) and the UNF (United Democratic Front) who look to the assumption of control by the

racial majority in a one-party socialist state. The visiting observer can be in no doubt that most people of all colours hope for a peaceful evolution to a tolerant, fair and unsegregated society but are only too aware of the odds stacked against its achievement. Some progress has been made on a number of fronts. Whether reluctantly or not, the Botha government connived, for example, at the desegregation of some White areas in cities like Johannesburg, and at the admission of some non-Whites to subsidised private schools and White Universities and to some hospitals. Asians and Coloureds and increasingly in urban areas Blacks are gaining ground in business and the professions. It is significant that from 1972–1984 the budget for Black education is reported to have risen by 2648% and is due for steep further increase in the following decade; and that the White business community, aided by funds from overseas, continues to give large subsidies to projects for the improvement of non-White education, social services and development. Nevertheless, power and wealth alike continue to reside with the White minority and control of the legislature and the executive with the Afrikaner hierarchy and its ponderous bureaucracy. The newly elected President, Mr. de Klerk, has made concessions which show that he is clearly anxious to achieve some kind of dialogue with the leaders of the African community, but even if he wished to do so he is not in a position politically to concede votes for all nor as yet to cancel the emergency regulations. The extremist minority on the left, like its counterpart on the right, sees no point in compromise. The danger of an explosion of violence when the flash point is lowered by an emergency or by the loss of hope of an eventual solution by the moderate majority is never absent and is compounded by the sense of isolation from the wider world by a ring fence of hostility. Time is of the essence. There is a degree of upward mobility for non-Whites with the ability and status to take a larger part in public life if they wish to and are allowed to do so; but it will take two or three generations at least of better educational opportunity before their numbers and their influence, if they choose to use it, can be of any real significance in the re-shaping of South African society – and the 64,000 dollar question is how public-spirited they will turn out to be, if in fact time is on their side.

CHAPTER I – HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

1) Education from the 17th to the 19th century

a) Education for White settlers.

As in most colonial territories, education for White settlers both in the Cape and, as the incomers moved north and east, in Natal and in the two Republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, was at first mainly left to the churches and to missionaries. The Dutch East India Company provided some elementary schooling from the time of the first settlements in the 17th century, and after the British took over the Cape for the second time in 1806 free English-medium state schools were established there alongside denominational, mission and other private schools, many of which were transient and ineffective. Colonists of Dutch origin who objected to an English education founded their own private schools which numbered 112 by 1841. The Dutch Reformed Church was a prime mover in the many small Afrikaner settlements which thrust out into the veld, establishing schools which were the forerunners of a special pattern of 'Christian National Education' which later became dominant in Afrikaans-speaking areas. In the Cape a Superintendent General of Education was appointed in 1839, and in the following decades numerous day and boarding private preparatory and secondary schools on the English model

grew up alongside state and state-aided schools, many of them copies of the English grammar school. The same pattern developed from the 1840s in Natal, though the expansion of private schools came somewhat later. In the Orange Free State English speakers and private schools were rare and Afrikaans was the accepted medium, while in the Transvaal, where Afrikaans-medium schools were the norm, English-medium private schools developed only in the late 80s and 90s with the influx of English and other Europeans to work in the goldfields of the Witwatersrand. By the end of the 19th century there was, therefore, for English-speakers a developed system of English-medium or dual-medium state schools alongside flourishing English-medium private schools some of which received subsidies from government, all bearing witness to the pervasive influence of British practices and ideals of education. In the Orange Free State and the Transvaal on the other hand Afrikaners' children were educated mainly in Afrikaans-medium state schools with a strong tradition of Calvinism, but not altogether uninfluenced by British ideas.

b) The beginnings of apartheid

Discriminatory legislation by the settlers against the native population dates from the earliest days of the new colony in the Cape. The first separate school for Blacks was established in 1663 and subsequent laws prohibited intermarriage and social contact and progressively excluded Blacks from White areas as the colonists extended their frontiers in the eighteenth century. Although some mission schools had accepted a mixed intake, the increasing prosperity of some native farmers in the second half of the nineteenth century intensified discrimination and by the end of the century the patterns of segregation which were to form the basis of apartheid were well established. Missionary schools made some provision for Blacks from early days and the first missionary schools for Coloureds predate the nineteenth century. Education for both groups continued throughout the 19th century to depend mainly on the Missions and was confined to a tiny minority. The first government grants to mission schools for Black and Coloured pupils date from 1841 and both grants and supervision were gradually increased by the colonial administrations and the two republican governments towards the end of the century. The first Indians were brought to Natal in 1859 as indentured labourers and the first missionary school for Indians was founded in 1869.

2) Educational Development from 1900 to The Present Day

The codification of separate education for the four racial groups and the establishment of State control

Phase 1 – *1900-1930*

Eight years after the end of the Boer War in 1902 Lord Milner was appointed High Commissioner of British South Africa and Governor of the Orange River and Transvaal colonies, which had been declared Republics during the war. In 1910 the British government granted self-governing status to the Union of South Africa as a Dominion within the British Empire and in 1931 under the Statute of Westminster it became an autonomous community in membership of the British Commonwealth. Throughout this period – and indeed until the early fifties – separate educational provision for Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, though still restricted, was more systematically provided under the combined control of Church denominations and the native education departments of the four provinces. Private schools, which were the sole providers of Coloured education, were fully subsidised from 1920.

In the White sector Lord Milner, during his eight years of office, made an Education Ordinance to enforce English as the sole medium of education. This

provoked Dutch colonists in the former Republics to establish private Christian National Schools under the aegis of the Dutch Reformed Church. After the Union they set the pattern of education in the state sector for the majority group of Afrikaans-speaking Whites in these two areas. Milner was also a powerful supporter of racial segregation.

After 1910 when the former colonies achieved internal self-government, the Union government in Pretoria, which was predominantly Afrikaner, began increasingly to take responsibility for what were separate though mainly local school systems for Whites, Coloured, Indians and Blacks within the four provinces.

Phase 2 – *The consolidation of apartheid, 1930-1980*

The principle of separation in education was formally enshrined in the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which in theory at least placed responsibility for Black education on central government and extended its scope. It has remained virtually intact in state schools to the present day, just as has the regulation first made in the Orange River Colony prior to the Union by General Herzog for bilingualism and parity of Afrikaans and English in both State and private schools – though in the private sector Afrikaans has always been taught as a second language and not used as a medium for general instruction. Control of primary and secondary education and the training of primary teachers had been from about 1910 firmly in the hands of the departments of education in the four provinces, while the Union Department of Education, later to be renamed the Department of Higher Education, was responsible for higher education and vocational and technical training. By the 1950s the control of primary and secondary education, as opposed to its management, had been transferred to Pretoria and the State was fully in charge of educational policy.

From 1949 until 1961, when South Africa was declared a Republic under Dr. Verwoerd, Premier Malan, the architect of formal apartheid, and his successor, Mr. Strijdom, entrenched their policy of separate, multinational development not only by the Bantu Education Act which formalised the policy of separate education, but by other legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1949 and the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951. After the declaration of the new Republic in 1961, the policy of segregation and separate development was further extended by Dr. Verwoerd by the granting of independent republican status to the Transkei in 1962. It was later extended by Dr. Voerster's adminstration (1966–78) to Bophuthatswana in 1971, to Venda in 1979 and later to Ciskei in 1981. In 1965 the Education Act for Indians and in 1967 the Education Act for Coloureds established separate systems for these groups. The rationale of these measures was that only in this way could the existence of the 'White South African nation' be secured, because they provided an opportunity 'for genuine and full development of the African peoples and the preservation of their national cultures'; but they set the scene for internal conflict led by the ANC and other movements and brought South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth and ostracism by world opinion.

Educational policy since 1967 has given no formal ground on separatism but has slowly begun to tackle the enormous disparity in resources and standards between the White sector and the rest. Three Education Acts of 1967 ended the divided control of education between central and provincial authorities, who were in future to be bound by national policy, and laid down a framework for education – it was to be Christian and broadly national, to use the appropriate mother-tongue for instruction, to be free, in accordance with the aptitudes, interests and abilities of pupils monitored by national standards and with uniform conditions and salary scales for teachers. Much of the impetus for implementing these new policies has come

from the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research founded in 1964 and later rechristened the Human Sciences Research Council. Their effect on the private sector will be considered in a later section.

Phase 3. The Botha years

Mr. P.W. Botha took office as Prime Minister in 1978 on the retirement of Mr. Vorster and set about constitutional reform designed to pacify the Coloureds, Indians and Blacks without 'jeopardising White interests and sovereignty'. In May 1983 the White Parliament passed the Constitution Bill, which was confirmed in a referendum of White voters and accepted by the Labour Party for the Coloureds and by the Indian Reform Party; and in 1984 Mr. Botha became 'executive President' with a three-chamber parliament for Whites, Coloureds and Indians, a cabinet council also drawn from the three groups, and a commitment to decentralisation of power to provincial level or its equivalent in tribal areas. Section 14 (2) of the Bill drew a distinction between what are called 'general' affairs, which concern overall policy and are administered by Departments responsible to Cabinet Ministers, and 'own' affairs, for which the three Parliamentary Chambers are responsible through their own Ministers and Departments. However legislation for Black 'own' affairs continued to be treated as 'general' since no Chamber was established for Blacks and both policy and administration of Black Education were allotted to the Ministry of Education and Training with its own Minister under the Minister of Education and Development Aid.

The 1981 HSRC Report *'Provision of Education in the RSA'*, known as the De Lange Report after its Chairman, Professor J.P. de Lange, Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, had again stressed the importance of equal opportunity and standards for all and made far-ranging and very liberal recommendations which were put before the new tri-cameral chamber on its inception. Their most important proposal was for the establishment of a single Ministry of Education. The government, which was not prepared to compromise its 'separate' policy by accepting the de Lange proposals for higher compulsory integration under a single Ministry or the right to opt at local level for mixed schools, then issued a White Paper accepting amongst other proposals those for the establishment of:

1) an SA Council of Education (SACE) of 26 members representing all four population groups and all kinds of school to advise the Minister of a new Department of National Education on over-all policy.

2) norms and standards of finance, syllabi, examinations and support services.

3) a multiracial Central Teachers Registration Council to regulate the profession and set minimum standards; and three statutory Certification Councils for teachers in schools, teacher training colleges and higher technical colleges.

The National Policy for General Education Affairs Act, 1984 which followed began the implementation of these proposals under a ten-year plan. A new and separate Department of National Education was created to lay down policy for all population groups and implement proposals listed in 2) and 3) above. As a result SACE and other advisory bodies were appointed in 1985, parity of conditions of service and salary for teachers regardless of colour was achieved in December 1986, two Certification Councils were appointed to ensure the same standards for certificates based on school and technical college examinations and a third for Teacher Training planned for 1987. Expenditure was to increase from R6,800m a year to R10,000m by 1996, and so make real the promise of free and appropriate education for all decreed by law in 1967 and enforce national policy on provincial administrators. Further central legislation in 1986, for which see below, provided for

controls and subsidies for private schools applicable to all four racial systems.

In 1988 another Act, The Education Affairs Act, further diminished the responsibilities of regional departments by transferring to the central bureaucracy in Pretoria all policy and many management decisions including control of appointments of teaching and administrative staff, and by prescribing some devolution of authority to School Councils. Chapter V, for which see page 10, imposed uniform regulations for private and State-aided schools on the four provincial departments. Whether it will prove possible within measurable time, much less by 1996, to remedy the enormous disparity of provision between the sectors in terms of buildings, money, equipment, teachers and expertise and achieve not merely equality of opportunity for the underprivileged vis-a-vis the Whites but parity of esteem in a mixed, pluralistic society will depend not only on the efforts of administrators and educators but on an improvement in the economic, social and political climate and the growth of mutual trust between the ethnic groups which is at present sadly lacking. As the following section will show there has been some real progress on the ground, though the concept of separate systems remains the official flagship of educational policy for the National Party government and is the Ark of the Covenant for the mainly Afrikaans-speaking Conservatives who have scored success in recent municipal elections. Nevertheless, at tertiary level at least there has been some blurring of racial segregation, especially in the more liberally-disposed English-speaking Cape Province and in the Witwatersand. By 1985 something like 20% of the total enrolment in residential 'White' English-medium universities were Africans. If African-medium universities are included, about 8% of the total enrolment is African. For the role of the private schools in general and their contribution to racial integration see Chapter II.

3) The Control and Organisation of State Education To-day

1. *The mechanisms of control*

The determination of successive governments to preserve the policy of racial separation by legislation and by devolution of power to native states described in the previous section has resulted in a Byzantine system of control of education involving some eighteen ministries or departments of education at central and provincial level and in the native territories. Education as at present organised is both a 'general' and an 'own' affair, since policy is common to all and administration is the concern of ministries responsible for the separate racial groups. With so many ministries involved at varying levels decision making is both protracted and laborious. For example, a flow-chart for the processes involved in the determination of national policy in 'general' educational affairs shows some eleven stages to be passed before decision is made on inputs from 'own' Ministers and Departments.

Overall control of **all sectors**, being as already explained a 'general' function, rests with the **Minister of National Education** (until recently Mr. de Klerk) who is responsible to the Cabinet for the registration and certification of teachers, the funding of education, and establishing curriculum norms and the standards of examinations.

Black education, also a Cabinet responsibility despite being an 'own' affair, is the function of the **Minister of Education and Development Aid** under whom comes the **Department of Education and Training**, known as the DET. Black education in the four provinces is controlled directly from Pretoria through seven regional directors, but there are separate departments or ministries in the six self-governing national states – Kwazulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane –

and the independent republics, Transkei, Bophuthatswans, Venda, and Ciskei, which are no longer part of the RSA but 'cooperate' with the DET while organising their own systems of administration and control. Both in terms of autonomy and resources, therefore, Black Education is far from achieving parity with the other racial groups and despite pious hopes from the Cabinet relatively few Blacks are involved in decisions about policy.

White, Coloured and Indian Education are the responsibility of three separate **Ministers of Education and Culture** each with his Department of Education and Culture and responsible to the appropriate Chamber of the tri-cameral parliament – the House of Assembly for Whites, the House of Representatives for Coloureds and the House of Delegates for Indians.

Each of the four provinces has its own Department of Education responsible for the management of primary and secondary education within the limits set by the 1988 Act and there are school boards or regional offices at district level. In the Cape, Natal, and, with some exceptions in the OFS, White primary schools have School Committees elected by parents, and secondary schools have similarly elected Governing Bodies which submit proposals for school management and the appointment of teachers to higher authority. In the Transvaal schools are directly controlled by the regional office. The Minister is also empowered to establish government schools and nominate their Councils. There are also free 'subsidised' or 'State-aided' schools under the control of their own Governing Bodies which in some ways resemble English voluntary-aided schools and the new pattern of independent grant-aided schools created in 1989. White private schools are technically subject to general supervision by the provincial Department but this is very nominal once they have been accepted for registration.

The Coloured and Indian Departments work through their own regional boards on similar lines.

2) **The Pattern of Primary and Secondary Education**

Schools at both primary and secondary level in all four racial groups must provide an education based on Christianity and hold a daily religious ceremony consisting of a bible reading and prayer. Bible study is compulsory at all levels but must be given only by members of staff. Parents may withdraw their children from religious instruction if they so wish. Whatever the difference in standards, the pattern of schooling and the 'core' syllabuses used are common to all four racial groups. Coeducation is the official policy for White state schools in the Cape Province and is common elsewhere, though many schools continue to be single-sex in all provinces. Afrikaans-medium schools are normally single-sex.

Pre-primary or nursery education from the age of three to six is provided either by registered private schools, subsidised schools or state schools, some of which are part of a primary or all-through school.

Compulsory education is from 7 to 16 except for the handicapped, who must remain at school until 18. Children born before June 30th may enter school in their sixth year.

Statistical data about each stage of education will be found in the statistical section below.

Primary education is organised in two three-year stages, viz:

Junior Primary – Grades 1 and 2 and Standard 1.

Senior Primary – Standards 2–4, with subject teaching beginning in St. 3.

There are final examinations in the two languages, maths, science, history,. geography, art and handicraft. RI, PE, and guidance are untested.

Secondary education is in two stages as follows:

Junior Secondary – Standards 5–7, though Standard 5 remains physically in the primary school. Pupils follow a basic course with some differentiation by ability and guided choice determines which senior secondary or high school they attend.

Senior Secondary – Standards 8–10, in General, Technical or Art High Schools.

The examination subjects which are the core of the senior curriculum are divided into six groups – the two official languages, Afrikaans and English; mathematics; natural sciences; third languages (including native ones); human sciences; and a mixed group including commercial, technical, agricultural, domestic and artistic subjects. Courses are differentiated according to aptitude and choice by regulations laid down by the responsible ministry or provincial department and pupils are examined at higher, standard or lower grade in both languages and in either four or five other groups. RI, PE, class music and guidance are unexamined.

Admission to university is at present still controlled by the Joint Matriculation Board, which both sets its own examination and moderates certificates based on papers set by provincial examination boards and the DET; but control will shortly pass to the new South African Certification Council established by the 1984 Act. (see . . . below for the disquiet this is causing the private sector).

Matriculation requires candidates to offer either six or seven subjects and to pass in at least five at one examination with a high aggregate mark and stated grades in prescribed groups. A higher grade pass is required in each of the two compulsory languages, one of which may be on the less stringent 'second language' syllabus. Admission to diploma courses at universities or technikons (roughly = to polytechnics) is less stringent.

Special education. Special schools for the physically or mentally handicapped are run either by the relevant Ministry or provincial department or by voluntary agencies subsidised from public funds. They educate 3% of the primary and secondary age group.

3) **Tertiary Education**

Universities are autonomous institutions subsidised up to 80% by State funding. Of the ten 'White' residential universities responsible to the DNE, which are now open with some restrictions to Blacks, five are Afrikaans-based, four instruct in English and one in both languages. UNISA in Pretoria, the equivalent of the Open University, provides for non-residents and tuition by correspondence which attracts large numbers, the vast majority of whom are Africans.

There are five Black universities, four of which are, however, required to have professorial appointments confirmed by the DET. Fort Hare at Alice in Ciskei, the oldest of the five, whose alumni include Mugabe and Seretse Khama, was transferred to the Republic of Ciskei in 1987. Like the University of the North and the University of Zululand, it has satellite campuses in densely populated Black areas elsewhere. The fourth is Medunsa – the Medical University of South Africa. The fifth, Vista, founded in 1985 to serve the needs of urban Blacks, has five campuses for full and part-time students, including one at Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape.

The University of the Western Cape is predominantly for Coloureds and the University of Durban-Westville for Indians.

Technikons and Technical Colleges

Each of the four racial groups provides tertiary technical courses for Diploma status

at Technikons or at Technical Colleges which combine them with less advanced courses for the National Technical Certificate. Industry has been prominent in providing financial support for those serving the non-White groups.

Teacher Training

Secondary teachers are normally university graduates either taking combined courses approved by central authority or with a post-graduate diploma. Some universities also offer four-year diploma or degree courses in primary and pre-primary and secondary education. According to official statistics 12,120 out of a total of 13,160 who hold a Higher Training diploma are White and the rest Indian or Coloured.

Most pre-primary and primary teachers take three or four year diploma courses at provincial training colleges requiring a senior certificate but not matriculation. In the Black sector, where there is still chronic shortage of well qualified teachers, training of pupil-teachers and short courses with low entrance requirements have now been superseded by diploma courses at pre-primary, primary and secondary level in DET Colleges of Education. Degree courses are also available at Black universities. There are separate Colleges for Coloureds and Indians.

CHAPTER II – THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH-BASED SYSTEM OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

1) **Origins.** It will be clear from the historical survey in Chapter I that private schools, mostly sponsored by the churches and the missionary societies, had played an important role in the development of education from the earliest years of settlement in South Africa, at first mainly for Whites but increasingly in the second half of the nineteenth century for Indians, Coloureds and Blacks; and that many of them were subsidised from public funds and increasingly subject to control by local, provincial and finally central government. A large number, especially those which catered for non-Whites, were finally absorbed into the government system in the twentieth century. Others, including a number of Catholic schools, continue to function either as grant-aided or wholly independent private schools.

To understand the status and composition of the almost exclusively English-medium private schools which, though they educate fewer pupils than Catholic schools, dominate the private sector to-day, their development must be examined in somewhat greater detail.

Until the establishment of the Union in 1910 provision of private schools had been, as already explained, largely the result of unco-ordinated local effort by the churches and missionary societies in the four provinces. In the Cape in the 1850s and later in Natal and the Transvaal, English-born Anglican clerics like Bishop Gray, leading Methodists and Presbyterians, expatriate educators and commercial entrepreneurs were responsible for the foundation of a growing number of private schools, many of them ephemeral, on the pattern of the English primary, preparatory, grammar and 'public' schools. These, despite different Church allegiances, shared a common ethos and approach to education stemming directly from the founding principles of their English models, Godliness and Good Learning. Their development and the somewhat later birth of church-affiliated private schools in Natal and the Transvaal, which is summarised below, is described in detail in chapters 3 to 6 of Peter Randall's *'Little England on the Veld' (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1982).*

Many of the earlier foundations, like Bishops (1849) in Cape Town, St. Andrew's (1855) in Grahamstown, Hilton College (1872) and Michaelhouse (1896) in Natal, St. John's (1898) in Johannesburg, the Methodist foundation, Kingswood (1849,

now co-educational) and their equivalents for girls, like the interdenominational Durban Girls College (1877), the Anglican Diocesan School for Girls (1873) in Grahamstown, St. Cyprian's (1871) in the Cape, St. Anne's Diocesan College (1877), originally in Pietermaritzburg and now Hilton's neighbour, and St. Mary's (1888) in Johannesburg are in the 1980s leading schools providing day or boarding education mainly for the English-speaking White community. By contrast, the earliest private boarding school in Natal, Inanda Seminary, was founded in 1869 by an American teacher, Mary Kelley Edwards, exclusively for the education of Zulu girls. Though now partly supported by the Congregational Church of America, it still offers a highly successful secondary education on English lines to the same clientele.

From the conclusion of the Boer War in 1902 until the present day new secondary level foundations in the Cape which have survived and are now in membership of the Association of Private Schools were limited to Herschel (girls, 1922) and Woodridge College (interdenominational and co-educational, 1966) alongside some six new preparatory schools. The Waldorf School in Constantia (co-educational, 1913) covers the whole age range.

In Natal the list of newer foundations includes Kearnsey College (Methodist, 1921), St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls (1919) at Klook and Treverton College (Baptist co-educational, 1970), together with five preparatory schools, an Islamic and two German schools.

In the Transvaal as the English-speaking community expanded two major Anglican girls' schools, St. Andrew's and Roedean, were founded in 1902 and 1903 respectively, to be followed by seven preparatory schools from 1916 to 1928 and Kingsmead College (interdenominational girls, 1933). There were more new foundations after the National Party assumed power in 1948 – notably St. Stithian's College (Methodist, 1953) and pioneer schools like St. Barnabas (Anglican multiracial and co-educational, 1963) and Woodmead School (1970). The tiny majority of English-speaking Whites in the Orange Free State now have only a single preparatory school (St. Andrew's, Welcom, 1963), St. Andrew's, Bloemfontein and St. Michael's having accepted a sort of voluntary-aided status from the provincial administration.

Until the mid-twentieth century most schools were more closely linked with their English models than with one another – for example, according to Malherbe's *Education in South Africa*, (quoted by Randall *op cit* p 98) Natal schools relied until the 1930s almost entirely on English or Scottish teachers, many of whom retired to the UK. It was not until the 1940s, when Afrikaners and English-speakers served together in the armed forces, that a growing sense of a native though deeply divided South African culture made internal appointments seem preferable. Even in the eighties Bishops and Durban Girls College imported English heads with previous African educational experience. Another source of recruitment in recent years has been UK and South African expatriates and Rhodesians who left Zimbabwe after independence.

2) The growth of an organised system of private schools

The beginnings of co-ordination at provincial level may be seen in the establishment by Gray of an Anglican Board of Education for the Cape whose schools included in addition an Anglican College for Blacks and parochial elementary schools; and from 1895 The Witwatersrand Council of Education in the Transvaal, established by the affluent business community, helped to fund and indirectly controlled the development of both state and private schools on English lines. Nevertheless for the most part schools operated as isolated, self-sufficient and competitive units until the early

decades of the twentieth century.

A parallel but distinct history marks the development of Catholic education which has all along remained strictly under the control of the hierarchy and the orders in South Africa as elsewhere.

The development of a more formal private sector based on British models may be said to date from the establishment in 1891 of the Anglican Provincial Board of Education for Anglican schools in the whole of South Africa and was further encouraged by the activities of the Witwatersrand Council of Education. The foundation of Rhodes Scholarships in 1901, though limited at first to Bishops and even later to a small select list of major schools, together with financial grants from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Fund for South African Church Schools estabished in 1906, contributed to a closer sense of fellowship, as did the awareness of a shared, inherited culture very different in quality from that of the Afrikaner majority and increasingly under threat from it. In the more cosmopolitan and industrialized Transvaal in particular, where incomers from Great Britain and Europe lacked the political influence to match their predominant position in industry and commerce, the private schools which educated their children increasingly benefited from the support of big business and in particular the powerful corporations which controlled gold and diamond mining. By 1930 the time was ripe for the formation of the Conference of Heads of Church Schools on the model of the English HMC and rechristened the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses (HMC) in 1933. From seven original members, all Heads of Church schools, it grew to nearly sixty representatives of a wider range of denominational and interdenominational schools by 1978 and the present total is 91.

The next step was the result of a Commission set up by the Archbishop early in the 1940s to consider the danger of interference by government especially likely to affect those private schools in Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State which received government subsidy – the establishment in 1945 of the advisory Standing Committee of Associated Church (Anglican) Boys Schools, which was dominated by the leading schools. Faced in the late fifties by government insistence on a policy of separate education for the four racial groups and on the desirability of a single, unified state system of education for national reasons and by an extension of control by provincial governments over both subsidized and unsubsidized private schools, the Standing Committee, feeling the lack of an equivalent to the British Governing Bodies Association, extended its membership in 1959 to include single representatives of Anglican girls' schools and Methodist schools and a second representative of the HMC. In the following decade, new proposed legislation about subsidies added to the disquiet aroused by the racial issue. The ensuing National Education Policy Act of 1967 (for which see page 7), while directly limiting the autonomy of subsidised schools, was seen also to open the way to government controls over unsubsidised schools, so putting an end to strong support within HMC for discrimination in terms of membership against the many schools which were felt to have jeopardised their independence by receiving grant-aid. In 1967 23 out of 51 schools in membership of HMC were subsidised. Of the remaining 28, 3 had never accepted a subsidy, 6 Diocesan Schools had abandoned them and for 19 no subsidy was available. The new threat was met not only by greater solidarity within HMC but by increasing collaboration between governors under the leadership of Michael O'Dowd, Chairman of the Governing Body of St. John's in Johannesburg, and HMC heads. This led to the creation in 1974 of the Association of Private Schools with a combined membership of Governors and Heads of registered private schools, a secretary later

shared with HMC and observers representing Jewish and Catholic schools. The effectiveness of these organisations and their policies will be considered in later sections.

The strength and prospects of HMC schools were much enhanced by the establishment in 1958 of the Industrial Fund for Assistance to Private Schools in South Africa on the lines of its English equivalent. The Chairman, Harry Oppenheimer, and the Vice-Chairman, W.D. Wilson, of the Anglo-American Corporation won support from industry, partly on grounds of self-interest, for the improvement of science facilities, first of all and typically in senior boys' schools in membership of HMC, later, in 1963, for girls' schools and in 1966 for four Catholic schools. The Fund also wished to encourage the development of post-Matric 'Sixth Forms' for specialisation before entry to University. In 1965 they added a Teacher Development Programme to finance study tours for heads of Conference schools, teaching experience in British schools for assistants, bursaries for in-service training, conferences on a variety of topics and visits to South Africa by educationalists. Unlike the British Fund, capital was retained for a permanent endowment which is now administered by the APS and enhanced by a contribution of R2 per pupil from member schools.

A detailed account of the current role and policies of APS/HMC and the other associations of private schools including those for Catholic and Jewish schools will be found in Chapter V below.

CHAPTER III – STATISTICS

Except where otherwise stated, government statistics are taken from 'Preliminary Education Statistics for 1988' published by the Department of National Education and based on returns from the Ministries responsible for the four racial groups. It is not always clear how some private schools such as fully State-aided schools in private ownership and Farm Schools are classified, and there is therefore inevitably some approximation in this area. Nevertheless it seemed right to include schools of this type since in other countries in Europe and elsewhere they are clearly reckoned as within the independent sector.

A) Pupil Numbers

1. Total pupil numbers in private schools.

According to the official returns there were 137,071 pupils in private pre-primary, primary, secondary and special schools in 1988. For their distribution by racial groups at pre-primary, primary, junior secondary and senior secondary level see Table 5 below. 50,261 of them attended pre-primary classes, leaving 86,810 at primary or secondary level.

2. Pupils in the private sector compared with the total school population by number and percentage. (Special schools included). (Table 1)

Colour	*Total overall*	*Private Sector*	*%*	*(1987)*
All races	7,195,320	137,071	1.9	(1.96)
White	1,032,137	92,685	8.9	(9.24)
Indian	246,654	5,579	2.26	(1.05)
Coloured	847,861	7,920	0.93	(0.79)
Black	5,037,335	30,887	0.61	(0.59)

Figures in brackets show the equivalent percentage in 1987, when the total roll was 6,818,516, with 133,868 in the private sector. Note the decrease in percentages for PS overall (largely the result of the expansion of Black education) and White groups and

the increase for non-Whites, especially Indians. Of the 30,387 Blacks 7,794 were in the National States.

3. **Sex-ratios in state and private schools compared.**
State schools: virtually in even balance. There were slightly more girls overall, slightly more boys in the White and slightly more girls in the Black and Coloured sectors, but many fewer girls in special schools (1:2).
Private schools: 52% girls overall, with 48.3% of girls in White schools, 49.3% in Indian, 58% in Coloured, and 54.2% in Black schools.

4. **The main groupings in private schools.**
What may be termed 'regular' private schools would seem to account for upwards of 122,000 pupils in three main and four subsidiary groupings, each recruiting from all four racial groups.
The main groups are:

a) APS/HMC, all registered with the White Ministry .....29,471 pupils.
b) Catholic .....c80,000.
c) Jewish ..... c8,400.

To these must be added:

d) SAAIS (allowing for overlap with HMC and Catholics).
e) Profit-making private schools (eg. Damelin College).
f) New foundations of NEST and LEAF (see page 31).
g) Greek, German and Japanese schools not in APS-HMC and a single Chinese school.

Taken together these figures suggest that rather less than 15,000 out of the somewhat suspect total of 137,071 reported by the Ministry attend other subsidised, community-based or private pre-primary schools, farm schools or 'street' academies in urban areas. There are reputed to be more than 90 of these in Johannesburg alone.

According to the official figures there are 9,800 'Black' children in White PS out of a total of 30,887 Blacks in private schools of all types. A guestimate suggests that perhaps 6,500 of the 9,800 attend Catholic controlled and the remainder APS/HMC private schools. According to official sources 84% of the total number of pupils in state-aided private schools are White.

5. **Distribution of pupils by racial groups and stage in private and state schools.**

Table 2: Distribution in private schools.
The 137,071 of all colours attending private schools are distributed as follows:

Standard	*Total*	*White*	*Indian*	*Coloured*	*Black*
Pre-primary	50,261	45,815	2,576	573	1,297
Prim. G1-S4.	41,634	19,908	1,544	3,028	17,054
Jun.Sec 5-7	22,298	12,075	722	2,085	7,416
Sen.Sec 8-10	22,201	14,336	703	2,187	4,975
Totals	136,394	92,134	5,545	7,873	30,742

The total is made up by 95 in special education and 582 'other', all but 99 of whom are White.
Note especially:

1) the large population of White pupils in Pre-primary schools.

2) the decreasing population of Blacks from 41% in Grade 1-Standard 4 to 33% in Standards 5-7, and 22% in Standards 8-10 which reflects the comparatively recent efforts of Government to improve Black education and the continuing lack of resources and properly trained personnel as well as a tendency to leave school early, especially in rural districts.

Table 3: Distribution in state schools.
The 6,987,654 pupils in state schools are distributed as follows:

Standard	*Total*	*White*	*Indian*	*Coloured*	*Black*
Pre-primary	85,629	34,029	9,444	6,006	36,150
%		*39.74*	*11.02*	*7.01*	*42.21*
Prim. G1-St4	4,477,808	431,038	119,296	526,132	3,401,342
%		*9.62*	*2.66*	*11.74*	*75.96*
Jun.Sec. 5-7	1,510,097	229,159	61,635	198,090	1,021,133
%		*15.17*	*4.08*	*13.11*	*67.62*
Sen.Sec 8-10	914,120	216,233	50,613	101,867	545,407
%		*23.65*	*5.53*	*11.14*	*59.66*
Totals	6,987,654	910,459	240,988	832,095	5,004,032

N.B. There are also 32,021 in special schools, of whom 24,046 are White, 7 Indian, 7,846 Coloured and 122 Black; and 7,241 in 'other' schools of whom 4,947 are White and 2,294 Black.

B) Number of Private Schools

Official statistics for 1988 list 1,122 'private ordinary schools' in the RSA and the National States, compared with 18,190 in the public system. They are responsible to the relevant Ministry for the racial group involved. Table 4 below shows distribution by racial groups in the four provinces and the National States. It should be remembered that in the White group in particular there is a proportion of pupils from other groups and that the National States are not directly controlled by Pretoria.

Table 4: Distribution of private schools.

Racial group and responsible body	*Cape*	*Natal*	*OFS*	*Transvaal*
House of Assembly – White	258	65	4	667
House of Delegates – Indian	1	24	–	5
House of Representatives – Coloured	12	1	–	3
DET – Black	12	11	13	23
National States	KwaZulu 8	Lebowa 14	Qwa-Qwa 1	=23

The following Table shows statistics for APS, HMC, Catholic and Jewish Private Schools according to the racial group with which they are registered:

Table 5: APS, HMC, Catholic and Jewish P.S. registered with White Ministry.

Affiliation	*E.Cape*	*W.Cape*	*Natal*	*OFS*	*Transv*	*Other*
APS/HMC	7	10	28	0	35	2
HMC only				2	2	2
Cath. Open Schools	9	14	12	3	37	
Jewish:	6				18	

N.B. The 75 Catholic-controlled open primary and secondary schools registered with the White Ministry account for some 26,000 pupils of whom 80% are White, though the proportions may be as high as 50/50 in some cases.

The remaining 54,000 pupils in Catholic schools attend either the 80 farm-schools or 54 Diocesan or other Church schools registered with the DET, the 55 schools registered with the Coloured Department of Education and Culture, a single Indian school or the 48 schools registered in Homeland Education systems in KwaZulu, Lebowa, Transkei, Ciskei and Bophutatswana.

C) TEACHERS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Table 6: Ministry figures for 1988 for ordinary primary and secondary schools (full time equivalent)

Colour	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
All	1,131	5,607	6,738
White	921	4,939	5,860
Indian	8	133	141
Coloured	52	76	128
Black	150	459	609

Pupil-teacher ratios: very approximately 20:1

N.B. For purposes of comparison ratios in State schools are as follows:
White schools: Primary 21.5:1 Secondary 16.5:1 (1987-9)
Indian schools: 21:1
Coloured schools: 24.5:1
No figures were published for Black education, but ratios of 60:1 and more are reported.

D) Fees

Fees in APS/HMC schools vary very widely. Most schools charge according to age and stage. In 1988 tuition fees per annum in the Waldorf School (day only) in the Western Cape ranged from under R1,000 to R4,215 while those at one of the 'top' schools, Diocesan College (Bishops) were for day pupils R5,860 to R6,260 and for boarders R10,268 compared with R14,000 at Hilton. The Deutsche Schule in Durban, presumably subsidised like two other German schools by the German Government, charged only R460 to R704. Fees in Catholic schools and in those in membership of SAAIS, some of which cater largely for African children, are at the bottom of the range.

N.B. English readers should remember that the current exchange rate of roughly R4.2 to the £ does not represent the cost of fees to South African parents.

CHAPTER IV – THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL BACKGROUND – RIGHTS AND CONTROLS

A) Parental rights, freedom of choice and variety

1) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa on its foundation in May 1961 was virtually identical with that established by the South Africa Act of 1909 and its subsequent amendments apart from the replacement of the Governor-General by a State President.

The Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 was designed to formalise the policy of racial separation as codified by Mr. Botha (see page 8). It is in one sense an amending act, but it replaces the first five Parts of the older Act with clauses which

define the separation of general and own affairs, the creation of the tri-cameral system and the immense power of the President in both spheres. Item 2 of Schedule 1 of the Act sets out which educational matters are 'own' and which are 'general' affairs. All subsequent legislation for education is subject to the provisions in this item.

There is no reference to freedom of choice and variety in education such as is found in most constitutions apart from a declaration in the preamble that goals include the upholding of Christian values and civilised norms, with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship and some generalized respect for human dignity, life, liberty and property of all South Africans and for the furtherance of private initiative and effective competition.

2) Section 2.1. of the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act of 1984 (for which see page 8) lays down the principles which limit the powers of ministers and government in determining education policy. In addition to specifying equal opportunities and standards irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex within four racially segregated systems, it includes the following paragraphs which are specifically relevant to freedom of parental choice and the right to establish private schools:

> iii) that subject to the provisions of any law regarding the attending of a school for a particular population group by a pupil of another population group, recognition shall be granted to the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations;
> vi) that the State shall be responsible for the provision of formal education, but that the individual, parents and society shall share responsibility and have a say in that regard;
> vii) that in providing education provision shall be made for the establishment and State subsidising of private education.

The recognition of parental right of choice and of the private sector in education in South Africa and of the legality of government subsidy to private schools is thus clearly established but, in comparison with most other democratic countries, is formally constrained a) by the overriding strategy of segregation by race and b) by the reservation of ultimate responsibility for formal education to the State, a policy already evident in the Act of 1967 and implying unlimited regulatory powers in matters like curriculum, the registration and conditions of employment of teachers and finance. It is ironical that the social unacceptability of a policy of segregated education and the impracticability of achieving the parity called for by the Act have led to the acceptance by government of a measure of racial mixture in the intake of Universities and of private schools in receipt of subsidy from government funds, for which see Section C.

B) Control and Registration

While overall policy in education is a 'general' concern under the Minister in charge of the Ministry of National Education, individual private schools are required to register with and come under the control of the 'own' Department of Education responsible for education in the racial group within which they fall. The minimum conditions for **registration** under 'general' policy which apply to all groups are as follows:

> 1) An education department must be satisified that a private school will make a contribution to the provision of education in the particular area and will not prejudice the existing public schools.
> 2) Approved curricula must be offered.
> 3) An approved school day, week and school calendar must be complied with.
> 4) Conditions for the composition of pupil communities laid down by the department must be complied with.

5) The teaching staff must have the official approved minimum teaching qualification.
6) School buildings and grounds must comply with regulations.
7) The provision of regular prescribed reports and availability for inspection.

C) Subsidies

Up to 1986 there was no consistent national pattern for subsidies to private schools and although there were subsidised private schools for Whites in each province no private school for Coloureds, Indians or Blacks received a subsidy. Furthermore in the Transvaal subsidies were paid only to primary and secondary schools which accepted a subsidy in 1953. The ostensible purpose of the new legislation was to establish a national code of practice and to give other racial groups parity with Whites in terms of government financial aid.

Like the rules for registration, rules for **subsidisation** are prescribed 'generally' and administered by the 'own' departments, which are responsible for the detailed administration of criteria and conditions of grant. Schools are divided into three categories, depending on the degree to which they are judged to fulfil the requirements laid down by the law and in their foundation charters, and receive either 45% or 12% or 0% of the recurrent costs per pupil in public primary and secondary schools. The monies assigned to Departments by central government may not be diverted to other uses and do not apply to special education. It is their duty to ensure that schools use their subsidies correctly and do not pay their teaching staff above the rate for public schools.

The appropriate 'own' legislation for the White group to which most of the established schools belong is the Private Schools Act (No 104) passed in the House of Assembly in 1986 and a subsequent order (No 2281) by the Department of Education and Culture in October 1986 which set out the detailed terms. Consideration for a grant of 45% depends on the school satisfying 11 criteria which give great latitude of judgement to the responsible civil servant, the Head of Education. They are as follows:

a) the school maintains what are in his opinion satisfactory scholastic standards.
b) that in his opinion it meets the educational and cultural needs of a cultural or religious group which are not adequately met by public schools in the province concerned.
c) that in his opinion the teaching staff is rewarded not more favourably than teaching staff of the same grade and category in public schools.
d) that promotions are made in accordance with the Minister's guidelines for similar posts in public schools in the province concerned.
e) that in his opinion school buildings and grounds are satisfactory.
f) that it complies with any other educational requirements he makes.
g) that the medium of instruction complies with rules applicable for public schools in the province.
h) that he receives an audited financial report annually.
i) that any grant is paid into a school bank account.
j) that on leaving pupils comply with the regulations of the S.A. Certification Council.
k) the constitution of the GB concerned is submitted to him.

For a 15% grant only a), b), e), g), h), i) and j) apply.

The availability of grant was further limited by a clause stating that the number of schools which receive it is subject to the amount of money voted for the purpose from time to time by the Assembly.

The Education Affairs Act (no. 70) of 1988 described in the previous section, which transferred policy control of White schools from the provinces to the centre, sets out detailed requirements for the registration and subsidisation of private pre-

primary and special schools and for state-aided schools. Their status is in some ways similar to that of voluntary-aided schools in the UK and they may receive loans as well as subsidies. It also lays down that church primary schools or farm schools receiving grants in aid are to be deemed to be private schools.

The arbitrary nature of the regulations in the 1986 Act when first promulgated in draft led to a concerted protest from the Joint Liaison Committee representing APS, HMC, the Catholic Bishops Conference and the South African Board of Jewish Education. While welcoming progress over subsidies, they pointed to the introduction of new regulations and the deletion of others contrary to agreements reached in previous meetings. These concerned the definition of 'curriculum', minimum requirements for registration as a teacher, the overriding powers of the Head of Education and the limitation of available funds. Their protest did not seriously alter the final version and the unwillingness of the bureaucrats to explain their decisions in respect of different schools in apparently similar circumstances has left an underlying disquiet in the minds of Heads and Governors. This is especially true in terms of the increasing recruitment of pupils from all four racial groups by private schools in the White group. While government appears to be tacitly agreeable to a policy which is illegal in state schools and makes grants to schools which admit non-Whites, the schools fear that they could be penalised at any time in arbitrary fashion on this or other accounts without right of appeal or redress; and for this reason if they apply for grant they prefer, as they did in the past, to use the moneys received for capital purposes and not for maintenance costs and so to avoid a sudden increase in fees if the subsidy were removed or lowered. For the same reasons some schools, like St. Alban's in Pretoria, prefer not to accept money from government. In general, grants of 45% or 15% have been allocated, within the limits of the total sum available, to schools with more than 50% of Whites on roll. Schools with fewer than 50% of Whites are required to register with the authorities responsible for the other racial groups, and there are three or four schools on the borderline whose future is uncertain. In Natal all schools qualify for the higher rate of 45% grant, while only one third of schools in the Transvaal have had the higher rate and some two thirds in the Cape Province. The government are said to have accepted a proposal for a uniform grant for all qualified schools but no legislation has been forthcoming.

D) **Indirect controls and influences**

The private sector, in common with those in other countries, is also subject to a number of indirect controls and influences resulting from general legislation about education. The extent to which these are strictly imposed has until the 1988 Act depended on the attitudes of the provincial authorities, which were noticeably less rigorous in the Cape and Natal, where there has been comparatively little interference with private schools, than in the Transvaal. The transfer of power to Pretoria's dogmatically inclined bureaucracy is likely to increase pressure to conform. This pressure is especially evident in two fields – in the certification, conditions of employment and remuneration of teachers and in public examinations.

1) ***Teachers***

Until the 1984 Act teachers in White private schools were required to register with the South African Teachers Council for Whites. Under the terms of the new Act, the Central Teachers Registration Council became responsible for regulation of qualifications on a uniform basis for all racial groups, while at the 'own' level separate Councils were to undertake registration and certification. For Whites a new body, the Teachers Federal Council, whose members represent the eight Teachers Associations including HMC, took over from SATC. Under the 1986 Act private

schools in receipt of subsidy were required to register their staff who were also required to pay annual membership fees to their association, but the majority, led by the Catholic schools, refused to do so unless those who were not White were also registered. This was agreed in 1988 and schools complied, but teachers, with the help of the South African Teachers Association, have resisted a demand for back payment of registration and annual fees to 1986. It seems likely that government will shortly enforce registration of teachers from all racial groups with a single authority, but that compulsory fee-paying membership of a teachers' association will prove to be unenforceable. Many schools currently advise teachers not to become members while others pay membership fees on their behalf.

Private schools which receive subsidies are required by law to pay teachers the official government rates, but many schools pay up to 10% more in cash which they claim compensates for housing benefits and better pensions available to state teachers.

2) ***Public Examinations***

The curricula of private schools in all countries are inevitably strongly influenced by the demands of public examinations and the extent to which they are controlled by State authorities. Private schools in South Africa are concerned about impending changes in the control of public examinations resulting from policies in the 1984 Act designed to secure parity of standards in qualifications for all racial groups. Under the present system the Joint Matriculation Board is responsible for the levels of attainment required for admission to Higher Education and for the certification of examinations at various levels set by the four provincial departments and for Black schools by the DET. The standards set by these different bodies are uneven and thought to lack predictive validity. The JMB's own examination, which is very much on the lines of the English equivalents, is open to schools in all racial groups and until recently has been popular with the private schools especially in the Transvaal, where the Transvaal department's examination is considered too limited. It is now suffering from a shortage of candidates and lowered efficiency caused by a shortage of funds. The new South African Certification Council is in process of taking over and is expected to abolish the JMB and its examination at the first opportunity, a move which would in the eyes of private school teachers seriously affect both standards and flexibility. A Matriculation Board under the Committee of University Principals will regulate requirements for university entrance. A new Independent Schools Examination Board (IEB) is in process of formation. Its members include representatives of the Universities, the Anglican and Catholic Churches, the radical South African Association of Independent Schools (for which see page 30), APS and HMC. It has secured funding from donors and hopes to replace the JMB's examination in 1992 with a new examination of its own which would be relevant to the needs of the underprivileged as well as those preparing for university and technical education. Much will depend on continued support from APS and HMC Schools, the Universities and the new Certification Council. This will only be forthcoming if a balance is achieved between the maintenance of academic standards alongside syllabuses designed to attract schools which concentrate on the education of pupils from the Coloured and Black groups.

E) **Private Schools and Taxation**

Though there is no exact equivalent to British charitable status, private schools which are not conducted for profit are exempt from taxation under Section 10 (1)(f) of the Income Tax Act, as are 'all ecclesiastical charitable and educational institutions of a public character'. The same ruling applies in some cases to Trusts

established by schools to assist with funds. Rates are not payable on buildings used for educational purposes and are sometimes remitted for teachers' houses on campus.

Schools are also exempt from 12% Sales Tax – shortly to become VAT.

CHAPTER V – THE VARIETY OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND THEIR CO-ORDINATING BODIES

While the Catholic schools with a total of some 80,000 pupils form the largest component in the spectrum of independent education in South Africa and have been pioneers in the education of Blacks and Coloureds, there can be no doubt that the schools in membership of APS and HMC, whose development was recounted in Chapter II, have a degree of social influence and prestige disproportionate to their numerical strength. Before attempting an estimate of the status and future of the independent sector in general it may be useful to identify and distinguish its main components and give some account of their present situation and the extent of co-ordination so far achieved.

A) APS/HMC, now incorporated as the Independent Schools Council (ISC)

Of the 86 schools whose Heads are in membership of the Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference all but six belong to the Association of Private Schools, which represents the interests of their Governing Bodies. The two bodies share a common secretariat and have recently appointed a distinguished ex-Headmaster as National Director of the newly formed Independent Schools Council which incorporates APS and HMC. He has a role similar to that of the General Secretary of the English Independent Schools Joint Council, which coordinates the much more numerous autonomous associations of heads, bursars and governors of independent schools in England and Wales. He is responsible for advice on the formulation of policy towards government and on educational and other matters affecting the schools and for public relations – mainly the function of ISIS in England as a constituent part of ISJC. While the specialist interests of the two associations remain separate, the degree of integration and economy of working made possible by their relatively small memberships, which for APS includes Heads, is an added strength. Each has regional branches or committees at provincial level in the Eastern and Western Cape, Natal and the Transvaal.

The objects of APS as laid down in the Constitution are:

1. To advance education in Private Schools.
2. To discuss matters concerning the policy and administration of Private Schools and to encourage cooperation between them.
3. To consider the relation of such Schools to the general educational interests of the community.
4. To express the views of Private Schools on the foregoing matters and on any other matter whatsoever which the National Council may decide as being relevant to the objects of the Association.
5. To take such action on the foregoing matters as may be expedient.

The articles include clauses safeguarding minority views when action is taken on resolutions. Membership or Associate Membership is open to private schools whether or not they receive government subsidy, provided they have a Governing Body and are non-profit making, and each may have two representatives, normally the Head and a member of the Governing Body, who attend Annual General Meetings in the regions. These are responsible for electing a regional committee, nominating members of the National Council which manages the Association, and, if

need be, for the dissolution of the Association.

As was made clear in Chapter II the APS/HMC schools have received ungrudging support from the White business and professional community and in particular from the mining industry. The late Mr. Peter Loveday, who was Chairman of APS and also Chairman of Governors of St. Andrew's in Johannesburg was a former member of Anglo-American and an enthusiast for effective management to ensure viability in a time of severe economic stringency. With his help, APS published in 1983 a document of 113 pages, the School Planning and Reporting Guide, which sets out detailed parameters for policy making, the efficient implementation of agreed policies and computerisation. The Regional Committees are responsible for its updating. Other publications deal with industrial relations and similar topics. Employees of independent schools are, as explained above, not eligible for the pension scheme for government employees which is open to teachers in State schools and APS has established the Private Schools Pension Scheme, underwritten by the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society. The scheme is optional for APS schools and relatively expensive, particularly for small schools. At present 37 schools participate, 14 with full and the rest with reduced cover. Full benefits include n/50ths of average salary for the last three years and there is provision for widows, disability and early retirement. Some schools also make provision for a lump sum payment involving an extra contribution by the school and the teacher. It is claimed that pensions have been increased by about 75% of the very severe rise in the cost of living in recent years, which has been accentuated in South Africa by its economic isolation, but in general teachers in independent schools in South Africa are less well provided for in retirement than their colleagues in the UK.

The Governor members of APS reflect the mixture of business, academic and clerical allegiances to be found in the Governing Bodies from which they come. In some schools Old Boys are dominant and tend to a conservative attitude both in educational policy and in adapting to social change; and it must be remembered that many of the most highly respected schools are closely affiliated to though not owned by the Anglican and Methodist Churches. The strength of the partnership of the two associations lies in the common membership of Heads which makes the formulation of a common policy in the context of a changing society simpler and more effective. At the school level the division of responsibility between governors and heads is, of course, similar to that in the UK and liable to the same stresses. While there is no wish to reduce the autonomy of HMC in professional questions, the overlap of functions between the two bodies has been much increased by the formation of the new National Directorate and will result in increased costs, which cannot easily be apportioned between them. As an interim measure there will be a single subscription for schools in membership of both bodies and the six non-APS schools will pay the HMC fee plus 20%. Their spokesman, Mr. Michael Corke of St. Barnabas College, who is also Chairman of SAAIS, recognises the value of the services provided but has some differences of principle with APS policy. (See page 30.)

HMC

Under its constitution as amended in 1985 all members of HMC must be Heads of all-through, secondary or preparatory schools which are non-profitmaking, have a duly constituted governing body and are properly staffed to provide education of high quality. There are two grades of membership. Full membership is open to heads whose schools 'make, in the opinion of the Conference, adequate provision for Christian teaching and corporate worship', whereas for Associates' schools the word Christian is not enforced.

The associate members are the heads of the Michael Oak School and the Waldorf School in the Eastern Cape Region, Ahmedia School (Islamic) in Durban, and in the Transvaal the American International School, Crossroads Remedial School, Broadhurst Primary School, Michael Mount Waldorf School, Redhill School, St. Vincent's School for the Deaf and Woodmead School. There is also an associated school in Botswana and another (The United World College of South Africa) in Swaziland. With one exception they are all recent foundations from the 60s and later, in contrast to the main body of traditional 'British' public schools whose origins were described in Chapter II.

Of the 86 full and associate members in 1989 28 were heads of Anglican schools, 8 of Roman Catholic, 5 Methodist, 2 Protestant, 1 Congregational, 2 Baptist, 38 Interdenominational, 1 Muslim and 1 not-stated. It should be remembered that where prep and senior schools are in separate membership they figure twice in the list whereas for all-through schools there is only one entry. The list includes 5 German schools. Of the schools themselves 46 are to a greater or lesser degree co-educational (Hilton College admits girls only for the post-matric year), 24 are for boys and 21 for girls, 21 are preparatory schools or the equivalent from PG (Pre-Grade) or Std. 1 to 5 or 6, 33 all-through and 16 secondary only from Std. 6 or 7 to 10. A small number of the most highly thought of schools have a post-matric year after the examinations in Std. 10 on the model of the British VIth form.

There is not the same strict test of academic performance as in the English HMC but in other respects its statutes and practices follow very much the same pattern and share the same ethos. The Conference of Heads of the 30 Independent Schools in Zimbabwe (CHISZ) is affiliated to HMC and is represented at its Annual Conference, to which it is usual for the Head of a British school in membership of HMC, GSA or IAPS to be invited as guest speaker.

The balance of numbers between full and affiliated members and the distinction between the categories is evidence of the close ties already referred to between the Churches and the schools and helps to explain a degree of conservatism of attitude amongst both parents and Governing Bodies in the face of the pluralist, multicultural tendencies of modern society, a conservatism which is apparent to the visitor from the UK. Nevertheless HMC meetings are notable for their informal friendliness and sense of shared loyalties to the cause of freedom and variety in education. The Executive Committee under its last Chairman, Mr. Arthur Cotton of St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, prepared a series of Guidelines for Heads, illustrating their responsibilities and those of Governors which complements the APS documents referred to above.

Regional branches of HMC at provincial level are active in discussion of the often widely different attitudes and regulations of provincial authorities – differences which the centralisation of policy control under the 1988 Education Act will not entirely remove. In Natal in particular, where independent schools have had favoured treatment and there are many old-established schools, the Natal Region has produced valuable reports on economic viability and other matters.

The history of HMC referred to in a previous section is evidence of its continued championship of the importance of religion and especially of Christianity in its educational credo; of the value of freedom and variety in education and the need to be wary of state interference whether by law or through financial subsidy; and of the academic and personal standards which belong to an education based on godliness and good learning. From 1959, when a Diocesan Synod passed a resolution requiring Anglican Church Schools to provide for children of non-white parents, HMC with its wider range of Church allegiances moved slowly but steadily by debate to a declaration in 1977 in favour of the removal of all restrictions to the admission of pupils of all races to private schools. This declaration and a delegation from the

Catholic Church which reiterated the unswerving refusal of the Catholic authorities to restrict entry to their schools won qualified acceptance from the Cabinet despite its firm adherence to the strategy of apartheid and was followed by the admission in the 1980s of a limited number of pupils from the other racial groups, at first by tacit agreement and later under the legislation described in Chapter II.2 above. The results will be considered in the final chapter on the role and future of the private sector.

The common denominator of what is in fact a widely disparate group is clearly the general philosophy of education and the practices embodying it which were transplanted by English immigrants and developed in the course of time to further the aspirations and purposes of a closely-knit and affluent English-speaking community in constant competition with the more dominant Afrikaner culture.

At senior level the older Anglican foundations and especially Hilton and Michaelhouse in Natal and St. Andrew's in the Eastern Cape, the only more or less fully boarding schools, and the older partly-boarding schools like Bishops in Capetown and St. John's in Johannesburg and their equivalent Girls' Schools, together with their more recent rivals and especially the four Methodist schools, Kearnsey, Kingswood, St. Stithian's and Epworth Girls in Scotsville, attract succeeding generations of pupils from scattered farming or professional families of long standing as well as the upwardly mobile. They tend to reflect the standards of a closed and privileged circle for whom soundness of character, skill in and enjoyment of team games and a modest academic standard in a traditional curriculum have been the norm, at the expense until recently of advanced study especially in science subjects, of the exploration of the Arts including drama and music, and of social service for the community. Schools are now beginning to redress the balance in provision for and encouragement of extra curricular activities between sport which has pride of place and the arts – music, drama, design, etc. – and to develop their libraries and societies.

From the 60s onwards the stimulus of the Industrial Fund, of new methods and curricula pioneered in Great Britain and of increasing contact with America, all backed by pressure from commerce and industry and from parents who reflect the changing ethos of an increasingly pluralistic and multicultural society, has encouraged a broadening of the curriculum on lines very familiar to British schools, with increasing emphasis on applied science and information technology as well as on the arts. The classics have almost disappeared from the curriculum.

Few schools in South Africa have any considerable endowments, but, like State schools for Whites, they are mostly blessed with extensive estates and splendid provision for games and other outdoor activities. Improvements and extensions to what are often quite grand buildings are funded by appeal and by the grants received from government. The comparatively low cost of labour for African groundstaff, domestics and other workers makes possible the employment of large staffs, often housed on the school premises.

Most schools provide for a number of scholarships and bursaries. Admission to senior schools is not normally by competitive examination as in the UK and the range of ability is therefore wider. Many leavers return to the family estate or business and some schools, like St. Charles College at Scotville in Natal, cater more specifically for entrance to technical and vocational institutions like the Technikons, but, especially in the 'Ivy League' schools, the more able pupils go on to University.

The preparatory schools which supply the senior schools closely resemble their British counterparts both in range and size (from under 100 to a school of over 400 in Durban) and in their approach to education, given the necessary allowance for the

different values of a colonial society. They are normally co-educational and combine boarders and day-pupils, but Clifton Preparatory School at Nottingham Road is an impressively well-run archetypal boarding prep school with 98 boys and 14 girls, all boarders. Many of the older senior boys and girls schools have their own separate feeder preparatory schools or preparatory departments under a separate head. An interesting experiment in collaboration as opposed to co-education is operated by St. Andrew's College and Diocesan School for Girls in Grahamstown, whose sites adjoin. Classes are totally integrated for standards 8, 9 and 10, science being taught in St. Andrew's by a combined staff. Latin, French and Xhosa classes are also combined at 6th and 7th standard level, as is music throughout and as are the first three forms in the St. Andrew's Prep. DGS begins at Std. 2. Though amalgamation seems inevitable in the long run there is no plan to change things for the present.

Other sub-groups within APS/HMC – for example the Waldorf Schools, the German Schools and the Islamic Ahmedia School – have their own distinctive aproaches to education while sharing the aims and objectives of the other Conference schools. Inanda Seminary, however, is *sui generis* in terms of foundation and catchment. Founded in 1869 by an American missionary, Mary Kelly Edwards in an entirely African neighbourhood north of Durban as a High School for African Girls, it is now registered with the Department of Education and Training, which administers Black education. Its Governing Body is sponsored by the Congregational Church and its Chairman is a senior director of the Tongaat Sugar Company. In premises which, despite gifts from sponsors, are still far from luxurious, the school admits between 70 and 80 African girls from Natal and further afield by a rigorous process of assessment. They go on to achieve outstandingly high results in Matric, especially in Mathematics, without neglecting a wide range of cultural and physical activities in a Christian context.

B) Catholic Schools and The Catholic Education Council

Catholic Schools, unlike almost all schools in membership of APS/HMC, are registered with all four Ministries responsible for the four racial groups. They are controlled and owned either by the Diocesan Hierarchy or a Religious Order with only four exceptions – two primary schools under the control of lay committees in the Eastern Rand and registered with the DET, and an open primary school in Johannesburg and the St. Thomas More school in Natal which are managed by lay boards.

Overall control and decisions on general policy have until recently been shared between the Southern African Bishops' Conference, which has acted as official negotiator with the government about grants, and a committee of Religious Superiors of Orders responsible for schools. The Catholic Education Council and the Department of Schools has until this year been more directly responsible for detailed coordination of policy and practice. As with HMC and APS, these activities have now been merged in a new Catholic Education Secretariat which will also be responsible for statistics (not at present available in detail) and for the Bursary Fund which helps pupils attending Catholic private schools.

The Catholic Institute of Education in Johannesburg is responsible for research and experiment and is at present concerned amongst other things with the establishment and role of the Management Councils now required for schools under government legislation and with the development of some experimental programmes in middle schoo' education in two open schools.

The main patterns are as follows, apart from Catholic schools in membership of HMC/APS:

Open Schools

The Catholic Church had maintained from 1852 a separate system of Catholic education for Africans, which in 1953 had 688 state-aided and 130 private schools. It bitterly opposed the proposals for Black education in the Bantu Education Act as an instrument for the maintenance of White supremacy idealogically similar to the Calvinistic concept of Christian National Education but was unable to prevent the withdrawal of state financial support for Church schools. After years of negotiation with government during which lack of funds and teachers in orders greatly reduced numbers and the quality of education, the church resolved in 1976 to defy the apartheid policy under which government had refused the application of the Anglican Archbishop of Capetown for the admission to Anglican schools of Coloured pupils and to open Catholic schools registered with the White ministry to pupils of all races. A report – Witness through Schooling by Pam Christie and Dawn Butler – presented to the Southern African Bishops Conference in 1986 provides an evaluation of progress so far and prospects for the future.

Of the 75 open primary and secondary schools listed, 65 are formally registered with the White Ministry as private schools on the same terms as schools in membership of HMC and other organisations. The remaining ten, six of which are in the Cape Province, have a special registration as Church Primary Schools, whose salary bills, books and equipment are paid for by the Department of Education. They bear some similarity to British Voluntary-Aided Schools. They qualify as private, unlike Voluntary-Aided Schools, because they are administered by nominees of the Church authorities and are owned by the Church or a Religious Order. The Witness report provides a profile of Open Schools in 1986 which shows that there were 40 combined primary and secondary schools with 17,778 pupils and 1,139 staff, 4 secondary schools and 31 primary schools. The total registration, including some pre-primary pupils, was 25,220. 79% of the pupil roll were White, 6% 'African' (Black), 9% Coloured, 4% Indian and 2% Chinese. New enrolments in 1986 showed a small increase in the White proportion rather than a reduction compared with the total roll, but a reduction over a ten year period. 58% of pupils in Standard 9 and 10 were Catholic, 34% belonged to other Christian denominations and the remaining 8% were described as 'Other'. The percentage of Blacks enrolled in individual schools varied from 0–2% in 4 schools, 3–17% in 27 schools, 18–34% in 23 schools, 35–54% in 17 schools and over 55% in 3.

The report recognised that open schools were primarily White-orientated, used entrance tests to select Black pupils (as well as in some cases Whites and others) and were not actively promoting Black enrolment at secondary level by such things as bridging classes for skills in English language and numeracy. It suggested strategies for ensuring racial mixing in and out of school and encouraging the involvement of Black parents. There was also need for curriculum development, induction and in-service courses for teachers and a higher proportion of Black teachers before full openness could be claimed. A problem to be faced was the likelihood of a demand from government for the re-registration of schools with less than 50% of White pupils with the Ministries responsible for other racial groups.

The role of these schools in the desegregation of education will be considered further alongside schools belonging to HMC and other groups in the final chapter.

Catholic schools for the other racial groups are as follows:

The 80 or more Farm Schools on Church property do not fall within the private sector and are registered with the DET, which pays salaries and provides some equipment. The DET does, however, register and subsidise 54 privately-owned schools administered by Church groups, Dioceses or Congregations.

Some 55 schools are registered with the Coloured Ministry of which about 7 are fully private and the rest state-aided.

48 schools are registered with Homeland education systems in Kwa-Zulu, Lebowa, Transkei, Ciskei and Bophutatswana. 16 schools in the Transkei are administered and financed by a Trust of which the Catholic church is a member. There is also one subsidised private Indian school in Natal.

In all, these figures suggest that the present total of schools outside the White group is about 160. It should be noted that for subsidy purposes the separate levels within a single school are registered separately and that this may be reflected in government statistics. A summary of the statistics set out above will be found in the note to Table 5 in the statistical chapter above.

C) The Jewish Day Schools and The South African Board of Jewish Education

The 24 Jewish schools, which operate at all levels from nursery to high school, had in 1989 an enrolment at primary and secondary level of 8,376 mostly White chidren, only 319 of whom are not Jewish. Their emphasis on traditional Jewish patterns of education does not attract Gentiles and they are not encouraged to enrol by the Jewish authorities. The schools are concentrated in urban areas. The greater number are in Johannesburg and surrounding districts of the Transvaal and include two large and highly esteemed all-through schools, King David's in Linksfield and Yeshiva College in Sandringham. In the Cape Town area 6 schools are grouped under the control of the United Herzlia Schools; and there is a combined primary and secondary school, Sharona Primary and Carmel College in Durban, and a similar school in Port Elizabeth.

According to the most recent figures available there were also 71 'Nursery Units' including two in Zimbabwe, which were either independent or part of main schools and were educating some 4,428 pupils. Some were entirely populated by Jewish children and others had a large proportion of Gentiles. Overall 55% of these children went on to Jewish primary and secondary schools.

Jewish Day Schools show considerable variety in ethos and practice within a whole-hearted commitment to the maintenance of the Hebrew language and Jewish traditions and to Israel. They include, alongside primary and secondary schools geared to the needs of the wider community, Torah schools for intending Rabbis and Yeshiva Bocherim. They are coordinated by the South African Board of Jewish Education whose Executive Committee combines elected representatives and the Director (Mr. M. Zimerman) and other members of the permanent staff responsible for educational policy and control. The schools fall into two groups: controlled schools directly supervised by the Board including the King David Schools in Johannesburg; and affiliated schools, some of which, the Herzlia and Carmel schools, are run on lines similar to those controlled by the Board while others like Yeshiva College and the Torah Academy make Jewish studies a major part of the curriculum. There is a Hebrew Teachers Training College, a Pedagogic Resource Centre and an Association of Principals of Jewish Schools.

Schools in the Cape and Natal were in receipt of provincial grants even before 15% or 45% grants were available generally to private schools under the 1986 Act. In 1986, when there were 7,924 pupils attending Jewish Day Schools, 82% of cost per pupil came from fees, which ranged from R1,391 to R3,035 and averaged R2,356. The present average, taking into account heavy inflation, higher interest charges and the new grant, is more like R4,000.

D) **The Independent Schools Joint Liaison Committee (ISJLC)**
The need for mutual understanding and where possible common action in the face of government policies in education has led to the establishment of the ISJLC whose members represent ISC, the Catholic and the Jewish schools. Its regular meetings help in the formation of common policy not only on political issues but also in matters like examinations and the registration of teachers.

E) **The Southern African Association of Independent Schools (SAAIS)**
While most members of HMC favour a modest policy of racial de-segregation and continued cooperation with government, a minority, whose spokesman is Mr. Michael Corke of St. Barnabas College in Johannesburg, have been for some time critical of what they feel to be reluctance to abandon traditionally élitist and separatist values especially in the older Church schools and argue that the acceptance of state subsidies is to condone apartheid. SAAIS was formally established in February 1987 by the Heads and Governing Bodies of six schools, Maru-a-Pulu in Botswana, St. Barnabas, the Catholic Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg, Waterford United World College in Swaziland, Woodmead School and Machabeng High School in Lesotho, three of which belong to HMC. Mr. Corke was elected Chairman. Its primary object is to lend support to a growing number of independent schools outside 'the private-school establishment' which are committed to a non-racial policy in defiance of the established pattern (and are therefore without state-funding) and in Mr. Corke's words 'to weakening the stranglehold which the white establishment exerts on private schools and particularly on Church schools'. It aims also to support not only regular school foundations in sympathy with its philosophy but also the street academies which attempt to provide cheap instruction. It favours the concept of 'people's education' based on democratic relationships between students, parents and teachers and on anti-sexist and anti-racist curricula. SAAIS has now established a central scholarship fund which aims to match scholarships funded by schools themselves on a rand-for-rand basis.

In January 1988 there were 17 member schools, 14 of which were in South Africa or the homelands. Three of them stem from the pioneer work of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield and Bishop Trevor Huddleston. Many are working in inadequate or temporary premises with a minimum of equipment and books and little capital for improvements, to some extent compensated by the devotion of dedicated heads and staff, including VSO and Gap volunteers from the UK and their equivalents from other countries. Two examples may serve. St. Ansgar's College in Soweto, renamed The College of Resurrection, is attempting to provide an alternative to state schools for Blacks in one of the most depressed townships in the Transvaal. St. Mark's College, in a remote township of Lebowa called Jane Furse after a missionary nursing sister, was founded by Peter Anderson, a former master at Bishops in Cape Town and his wife Elizabeth. With the help of a small grant from the Lebowa government and generous contributions from industry they have established on a barren site next door to a government hospital what is now a thriving boarding school for some 400 mostly Black pupils recruited locally and from further afield. The buildings, though far from luxurious, include an impressive library and resource centre, an efficient refectory and simple but attractive boarding houses. The school's evident success owes much to a Christian sense of family fostered by the Andersons and their band of devoted teachers and volunteers from British independent schools, though it has now grown to a size where a more institutional regime will be needed. The shoe-string basis of this kind of venture is illustrated by the balance of costs and

income for 1988. Fees were R2,900 (compared with up to six times this sum at the best-known HMC schools) and income, including the Lebowa grant for 6 staff, amounted to R1,600. As the school grows and extends to the higher Standards costs will inevitably rise, as will the need for fully trained teachers to replace volunteers.

F) The Independent Schools Examination Board

Mr. Corke has also been a prime mover in proposals for the establishment of a new examination board to replace the Joint Matriculation Board described in Chapter IV above and provide a more palatable alternative for private schools to the official leaving and Matric examinations set by the provincial authorities and the ministries responsible for the Indian, Coloured and Black groups. This proposal is at present supported, though with reservations, by ISC and the Catholic and Jewish private schools, whose representatives are involved in the planning committee, and has Ministry backing. The standards and syllabuses of the official exams are felt by most private schools to be less challenging than those of the JMB and more open to political pressures, but an examination dominated by the philosophy of SAAIS at the expense of academic rigour would inevitably involve the withdrawal of the established schools. The first ISEB examination is now planned for 1992.

G) The New Era Schools Trust (NEST)

Founded in 1981, NEST offers a different kind of solution to the creation of a non-racial society to that of SAAIS. Under its Director, Mr. Deane Yates, a former Head of St. John's in Johannesburg and founder of Maru-a-Pulu School in Gabarone, it founded Uthongathi, the first of four planned non-racial schools, in Natal in 1987 at a cost of R9m, and a second, Phuting, near Johannesburg in 1990 and is planning two more in Grahamstown and Cape Town, each of which will cost about R13m. The scale of provision for boarders and day-pupils in roughly equal proportions is lavish and impressive and the Trust aims to fund 50% of the cost of school fees. It has raised more than R20m in South Africa and is now appealing to other countries for support.

In its statement of aims, NEST stresses the importance of equal physical, cultural and spiritual partnership in a truly non-racial community, the need to emphasize training in community service, democratic principles, tolerance and compassion and a religious base embracing world faiths of all kinds.

Admissions are planned to ensure a fair balance in which no racial group is vastly outnumbered by any other and there is a scholarship scheme for the less well off. Unlike the SAAIS schools and despite NEST's objective of simplicity in buildings, food, dress and way of life and the involvement of the pupils in self-help and domestic work, Uthongathi at least gives somewhat of the impression of an 'élite' school which appeals to progressive members of the English-speaking White group and ambitious socially-mobile families from the other groups. It is too early to judge the validity of the experiment at this stage, but the schools clearly face problems in attempting to create a community based on religious principles with shared ideals and values while retaining the separate tenets of different creeds and faiths. How far upward mobility for Africans can contribute to the creation of a stable post-Apartheid society will be considered in the final chapter.

H) LEAF

This organisation aims at increasing social mobility by providing concentrated instruction at the level of Standards 9 and 10 for able Africans who were educated in state schools.

CHAPTER VI – THE STATUS AND FUTURE OF INDEPENDENT EDUCATION

In a society in ferment faced with the alternatives of self-destruction or the acceptance of radical change in the distribution of power and resources between the white minority and the ever-growing majority formed by the other racial groups, the role of independent education in South Africa and the pattern of its development reflect the tensions which dominate both private and public life. It will be clear from the historical summary that broadly speaking the White English-speaking community is, in terms of its education, the product of a somewhat old-fashioned and traditional but now increasingly innovative pattern of state and private schools modelled on the English public, grammar, primary and preparatory schools and until comparatively recently largely staffed by expatriates; while the numerically slightly larger Afrikaans-speaking group, which dominates politics and government administration, relies for the most part on state schools whose conservative philosophy stems from the concept of Christian National Education fostered by Boer tradition in the face of British colonialism.

Schools in membership of the Independent Schools Council and HMC, which represent the largest and most influential section of the private sector, like their Catholic and Jewish equivalents, have as already explained begun since the sixties to adapt both ethos and curriculum to meet what are clearly their society's most pressing need – a new generation whose members are both highly trained and technically competent professional men and women capable of helping to manage a modern industrial society, and who understand the need to do away with the restrictive policies of apartheid, widen opportunity for the other racial groups and create a genuinely pluralistic multi-racial community. For the first objective they have been greatly assisted by the Industrial Science Fund and by the goodwill of the business community generally which has helped them to re-equip themselves for the technological scene. For the second, their declaration, following the lead of the Catholic Bishops, to open HMC schools to all four racial groups reflected the acceptance of some degree of integration as a political and moral necessity by the majority of the English-speaking community, especially in the Cape Province. In this field too they have been much encouraged by support and help from commerce and industry. In the state-system a similar move was thwarted by the unwillingness of government to abandon the policy of separate education despite a majority of parental votes in favour; but its surprising decision in 1986 to offer subsidy on a national basis to private schools which admit pupils from other than White families has in some schools helped raise the average representation of non-Whites to 15–20% of the intake. In general and perhaps especially in girls' schools like Herschel in Cape Town, Diocesan Girls in Durban and St. Andrew's in Johannesburg they have been absorbed without much tension into the community and given due recognition for ability, leadership potential and athletic talent without, it is claimed, any change in ethos or standards.

In addition, most HMC schools have developed what are called Outreach programmes under which academic and other training is provided for Black pupils and teachers either on campus or in native townships, either by staff and pupil volunteers or by specially employed staff. With the curious effect of time-lag evident in so much of South African life, their nearest parallels are the Boys and Girls Clubs established by the English Public Schools in the first half of the twentieth century which have now been replaced by other forms of community service; but, though like them Outreach programmes are inevitably open to attack as charity *de haut en bas* by militant factions, they are motivated by a sincere belief in more equal opportunity and

they do in fact give genuine opportunity to some Blacks and Coloureds to improve their chances in life and help to generate understanding of and sympathy for the underprivileged majority amongst White pupils and their parents. Two notable examples are projects by two private schools in Pretoria. St. Alban's College has now four years' experience of a varied programme which includes campus schools in nearby townships which offer courses for black pupils and teacher up-grading, bursaries at the College for the ablest pupils from areas of unrest where schools have been closed, the creation of jobs in the College for the unemployed, an Easter Youth Meeting when children of all religions and races camp at the College and a non-racial Cricket Week. An even more ambitious programme is that of Waterkloof House Preparatory School, locally known as WHPS, which is the centre of Project Literacy, whose ultimate aim is to establish adult education centres throughout Africa and which is already planning four more centres in addition to a purpose-built building at the school. The extent of parental support for Outreach was demonstrated during the Soweto riots by the willingness of Johannesburg families with children attending private schools to take black children into their homes so that their education would not be interrupted.

Whether this modest contribution to change will in the end make a real if still tiny contribution to the creation of a genuinely pluralistic society will depend on several factors, quite apart from inevitably rising fees as the economic crisis reduces the value of the Rand and increases the cost of living.

The most important factor is the lack of political clout of the English-speaking Whites in relation to Afrikaans-speakers and the lager-mentality of many Afrikaner politicians and administrators, which could lead to renewed restrictions on open admission to private schools and increased controls over the qualifications and renumeration of staff, as was threatened earlier in 1989, or even to the abolition of subsidies altogether. For the moment, the threat seems to have been lifted by a statement in June of last year by Mr. de Klerk, then the Minister for National Education, and now Mr. Botha's replacement as State President. He is reported to have spoken out in favour of extending private education for all racial groups and especially for the Black and Coloured communities, and is now proposing the admission of other racial groups to White state schools if 90% of parents approve, under a new scheme not unlike that for the Trust Schools in Zimbabwe!

The second is the degree to which boys and girls from the other racial groups who gain admission to private schools come from relatively affluent upwardly mobile families whose aim is assimilation with white cultural patterns and the preservation of privilege. Unless the schools can offer more full bursaries to offset fees they cannot hope to attract more children from poor or remote homes, even if these could show evidence of sufficient basic training and ability to cope with what is essentially a 'grammar school' curriculum. The success of private education in South Africa, as in other countries, depends on its ability to sell a package deal based on religious or ethical aspirations and the complementary tradition of service to the community to purchasers whose expectations are more directed to self-advancement and success in the competition for qualifications and jobs. It is by no means certain that in general ambitious members of the other racial groups whose culture is different will carry these lessons with them into adult life rather than exploit the advantage of a privileged education; and it will be hard to blame them if some of the more percipient turn out to be critical of the sincerity of those white coaevals who cling to privilege. More importantly, in areas where militancy amongst Blacks is strong, families may be actively discouraged from seeking places in white private schools and threatened

with ostracism if they take them up – another small indication of the knife-edge balance on which the future depends.

The White Catholic and Jewish Schools share many of the traditions and attitudes of the ISC/HMC membership within the boundaries of the communities they serve; and with its major commitment to Black education throughout South Africa the Catholic Church has demonstrated its determination to overcome racial barriers and to win supporters amongst the underprivileged in both town and country. The Catholic authorities are experimenting with new curricula and teaching methods for use in their Open Schools, where the intake is much more comprehensive in terms of ability and social status than in private schools generally, something which is even more true of their farm schools in rural areas. It may well be that the Open Schools, and in particular those which are more fully subsidised by government might suggest an acceptable pattern for multi-racial education in the future.

Jewish schools cater almost exclusively for their own folk and aim to preserve the essential beliefs and practices of Judaism within the educational patterns common to all. It is less easy to evaluate the contribution of charitable projects such as the NEST schools and those of LEAF described in Chapter V. These schools depend on expensive sponsorship for courageous and valuable experimental projects in multiracialism for small and highly specialised groups; and this is even more true for the schools in membership of the SAAIS, many of which refuse to accept state control and state subsidy and are sympathetic to more radical social and educational reform than most of their contemporaries. Like 'free' and experimental schools elsewhere, they appeal especially to liberal-minded middle-class idealists who are unhappy with conventional modes of education and with political compromise as a means of solving social problems. Schools like St. Mark's College in Lebowa demonstrate what conviction and dedication can achieve with minimal advantages and set a splendid example in living together; but it is hard to see them any more than ISC and other 'establishment' schools as the pattern for a new, integrated system of schooling in a multiracial community as disparate as in South Africa it must be. Nevertheless the stimulus of their enterprise and their determination to put their beliefs about society into practice is far from negligible as traditonal attitudes and practices amongst Whites are increasingly broken down by the threat of revolution if they remain unchanged. The observer from abroad cannot fail to applaud the missionary zeal, courage and determination of these pioneers and their supporters in commerce and industry whose enlightened generosity makes their projects and other similar ones outside the school context viable.

The future of private education in South Africa in general and of the ISC/HMC schools in particular can only depend on the resolution of the economic and social problems which beset the community as a whole, and the degree to which supporters of change can summon up the will and the means to survive and adapt to a very different kind of social structure, especially if it is seen as it develops to threaten the privileges and standards of living which they traditionally enjoy. It is not certain that all those English-speaking Whites who declare themselves to be in favour of change would face the reality with equal enthusiasm. Furthermore, despite a growing liberalism and impatience with traditional ideas and beliefs amongst younger Afrikaners, there is still a conservative hardcore prepared to fight for the preservation of their traditional rights and the maintenance of apartheid – the separation of cultural and racial groups – at any cost. Their strength emerged in the municipal elections of 1988 and even a National Party converted to some degree of Liberalism could not altogether ignore its significance. Ironically enough, a

reforming government, if it had a mandate for and the strength to enforce change, might well see the Afrikaner community resorting for the first time in recent years to the establishment of private schools to escape from a state system of education open to all races on equal terms. The increasing prosperity and influence in commerce and industry of urban Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, while it helps to break down barriers, also tends to raise the flash-point, especially in the townships, where supporters of extremist militant groups are often dominant and disquiet with inequalities of educational provision is a powerful irritant. Various proposals for the establishment of a new society, including one for a cantonal system on Swiss lines, are canvassed by political scientists but there is no consensus so far and the economics of self-sufficient regionalism for separate racial groups are more than doubtful. The hope must be that the leaven of new feeling to which the private schools have notably contributed will spread widely enough in the different racial groups to achieve a peaceful compromise. If it does, their role in helping to build a new South African community might well gain further in strength and scope. A new multi-racial society would inevitably bring with it a redistribution of power and influence involving quite different goals and standards from those of schools which at present educate for the most part the sons and daughters of an élite and dominantly European section of the South African people. The new society, if and when it emerges, will, no doubt, as all societies must, evolve its own kind of élite, whether liberal-democratic, socialist or Marxist. The independent schools, if they are flexible and far-sighted enough and provided they are allowed to do so, might be well-placed to educate some useful champions of democratic pluralism. Whatever the future holds, they deserve respect and good will from their colleagues in the Western democracies for standing firm in defence of their independence and of freedom of parental choice and for repudiating discrimination on grounds of race and colour.

Zimbabwe

INTRODUCTION – NATIONAL BACKGROUND

Zimbabwe, formerly the self-governing British colony of Rhodesia, is a landlocked territory, almost 160,000 square miles in area, which forms part of the central African plateau. It is bounded by Zambia to the north-west, Mozambique to the east, South Africa to the south and Botswana to the south-east. The eastern border is dominated by a series of granite mountains from which a spine runs south and east through the capital, Harare, at 5,000 feet above sea-level and on towards Bulawayo and the Matopos at about 4,000ft. The Zambesi river and the Victoria Falls mark the eastern boundary, which there abuts a narrow corridor of Namibian territory separating Zambia and Botswana. It has natural mineral resources including gold, chrome and asbestos but is largely agricultural, with cattle-ranching chiefly in the open veld of Matabeleland and fruit, sugar and the like in the lusher low veld to the south. Tobacco, the country's main foreign currency earner, is grown in the northern and eastern regions. The tropical climate is alleviated by altitude and the summer rains which begin in November tend to daily storms rather than continuous downpour.

The African population belong mainly to two distinct and competitive Bantu tribes. The Matabele in the south, of which the capital is Bulawayo, speak Ndebele and the Mashona further north are Shona speakers. The distinctions between them are now blurred by intermarriage but they form rival groups roughly coincident with the two main political parties of the modern Republic of Zimbabwe.

Until the 1890s, when the indigenous African population was still only 250,000, the rare Whites who penetrated the territory from the 50s onwards were missionary explorers like Livingstone and his brother-in-law, Robert Moffat. In 1890 Cecil Rhodes inspired and financed what is known as the Pioneer Column consisting of settlers and soldiers from the Transvaal and by September they were encamped in Salisbury, the future capital, to be followed by a stream of mainly Dutch settlers, miners and prospectors. There followed fierce and often bloody resistance from the tribes, now commemorated in the Shangani River monument close to Cecil Rhodes' grave in the Matopos mountains. It culminated in the defeat of Lobengula in 1893 and the foundation of Bulawayo. The newly-won territory remained under the jurisdiction of the Company until 1923 when it became a self-governing British colony which had the unique privilege of sending its Prime Minister to the Commonwealth Conference.

In the following decades the White settler population grew and the economy prospered. In 1953 the Colonial Government persuaded the British Government to establish the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the face of growing African opposition to White supremacy and demands for full voting rights for Africans. In the ensuing struggle, which brought other African colonial territories to independence, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia became the independent Republics of Malawi and Zambia in 1964 under Presidents Banda and Kaunda. Southern Rhodesia had in 1961 been compelled by a new constitution to enfranchise some thousands of Africans in a second electoral roll and to guarantee 15 out of 65 seats in the Legislative Assembly to African members. Demands for complete independence of London were refused unless there were guarantees of further progress towards majority rule, so that in 1965 Ian Smith's government made

a unilateral declaration of independence. This was met with the rigorous application of sanctions by Britain and increasing hostility from supporters of majority rule and black supremacy, many of them operating from bases in Moçambique and Zambia. Eventually a state of war developed in which the Smith government was finally ousted after an attempt to set up a puppet multi-racial government under Muzarewa.

The Republic of Zimbabwe was inaugurated in 1980 after long debate in London. It was based on the 1976 alliance forming a popular front between Nkomo, representing the Matabeles centred on Bulawayo, and Mugabe, the ackowledged leader of the Shona-speaking tribes to the north and in the capital Salisbury, which was now renamed Harare. On London's insistence separate parliamentary representation was accorded to Whites for the first seven years after independence by way of recognition of their economic importance in the new community. Many White Rhodesians and their families left the country during the war years, and their numbers have continued to decline under the Republic despite restrictions on the exportation of capital and stringent exchange controls. Many have moved to South Africa, among them a number of teachers in state and private schools. There are now fewer than 100,000 Whites out of a total population of about 9 million. In the early years of the Republic Mugabe gained the upper hand in the ensuing struggle between the two parties, Zanu PF and Zapu PF, and proclaimed a Marxist-Socialist, virtually single-party state in which racial representation was finally abolished in 1987. It is against this background that the development of education in general and the role of the independent sector in particular must be considered.

CHAPTER I – THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

In 1898 Rhodes set about establishing a system of education based on the Cape Colonial system in South Africa with its mixture of Mission and English-medium Government schools. Government schools were established only when it was unavoidable and all schools were required to give religious instruction.

Black Education. The Catholic Missions were first in the field, to be followed by Anglican, Methodist and Dutch-Reformed Schools. By 1907 there were 30 grant-aided mission schools for natives, and by 1911 they had increased to 143. From the mid-thirties onwards they were administered by a separate African branch of the Ministry of Education whose counterpart, called the EAC branch, was responsible for the education of Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. Of the small minority of Africans admitted to secondary education comparatively few went on to Matric at the end of four years and even fewer went to university. The majority attended what were called Form 2 Schools and left from the 2nd Form after sitting a lower examination with a largely technical bias.

White Education. Since government secondary schools were, as in South Africa, good Grammar Schools and prepared their pupils for South African examinations, there was for some time little call from White settlers for private schooling, though the Dominican Sisters founded private schools in Bulawayo and Salisbury as early as 1896. Boarding facilities were provided both at secondary and primary level to offset the wide dispersal of families in rural areas. Compulsory education from 7 to 15 was delayed until the Education Act of 1930.

The Cape pattern continued into the mid-thirties, when an English HMI recommended a tripartite system of academic, technical and modern schools, an English pattern of examinations at O and A level to replace those of the South African Matriculation Board, the raising of the school leaving age to 16 and transfer to secondary education at 12+. For Whites the new system was quickly modified by

the abolition of modern schools in favour of streamed 'academic' comprehensives, with which the technical schools were also assimilated in the 70s. For the less able the Ministry of White Education established a school leaving examination called the Rhodesian Certificate of Education, based half on written papers and half on assessment. All White children with reasonable O level passes were admitted to the VIth Form, while Blacks were allotted places according to their results in the small number of Black Ministry and Mission schools with a VIth Form.

1979 – present day

The separate systems of state education for Whites and of state and subsidised Mission and Farm schools for Africans endured until 1979 when racially segregated government schools ceased to exist and the two separate racial departments were amalgamated under one Permanent Secretary. With the declaration of independence the unification of the educational system went a step further. Black pupils were bussed in from high-density areas to attend schools in former White residential areas. Black teachers replaced departing Whites and the pupil teacher ratio gradually changed to what had been the norm in the poorer Black schools of the past. The system is essentially a grant-aided system of subsidised non-government schools with a small state component.

Ministry statistics for 1987 – the latest available – make it clear that what are termed non-government schools – i.e. subsidised Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Mission schools, Farm schools, and schools sponsored by the mining industry, other big companies and rural councils, together with the 35 independent Trust schools in membership of CHISZ – educated virtually 84% of the total school population of 2,855,971. According to the Catholic authorities Catholic Mission schools accounted for 73,987, of whom 39% were professed Catholics. At secondary level the non-government schools were responsible for 416,553 pupils out of a total of 604,652 in 1,210 out of a total of 1,395 schools; and at primary level for 1,970,434 of the total of 2,251,319 in 4,155 primary schools out of a total of 4,439. This showed a decrease in numbers in primary schools compared with 1986 and an increase in secondary numbers. It is likely that figures for 1988/9 will show a continuation of the same trend.

With a scattered rural population and poor transport facilities, a comparatively high proportion of pupils board at both primary and secondary level in both state and non-government schools. Excluding special schools, the Ministry records 2,934 boarders in state and 4,522 in non-government primary schools and 12,687 and 54,230 respectively in the equivalent secondary schools.

The government has been faced with an exponential increase in the African population and in popular demand for education which has resulted in an increase in the number of secondary schools from 197 in 1980 to something like 1,500 in 1989. The resulting strain on resources of all kinds, and the lack of experienced administrators and of trained teachers, more than 64% of whom are either unqualified or insufficiently qualified, combined with shortages of finance and of educational supplies, have left their mark on standards. Although the education budget is higher than that of any other ministry, it is insufficient to achieve entirely free education even at primary level, since grants are calculated on an unrealistic pupil-teacher ratio which must be supplemented by fees, voluntary levies and grants.

In the state sector all but a few outstanding schools which do well in examinations have lost most of their White pupils and many of their better White teachers. Both state and non-government schools are crippled by their inability to recruit trained

staff, despite Ministry attempts to engage expatriate teachers from overseas. At secondary level only 4,101 out of a total of 21,981 teachers have a graduate or equivalent technical qualification; and of primary teachers 3,244 out of 57,120. Many have at best a two or three year teacher training qualification after completing no more than the first two years of secondary or the 6th grade of primary school; and 25,451 are without training of any kind. Nevertheless, the better Mission schools, like the best Government schools, continue to attract able pupils and to achieve good results at secondary level.

All pupils, whether Black or White, who are admitted to secondary school and reach the required standard in the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate at the end of the second year are required at the end of a four-year course, regardless of their ability, to write O level papers set by the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate in cooperation with the Zimbabwean Ministry – a system said to be inexorably demanded by Black parents, who regard 'matric' as the only key to a better future for their children. As a result there is a failure rate of more than 90% amongst Black pupils. The government is apparently not prepared to face the facts and change the system by returning to the use of a lower-level leaving examination on the former Rhodesian pattern. The very limited number of places for A level courses in the comparatively few schools which have VIth forms, including those which are independent, are allocated by examination performance under Government control. In 1987 there were some 5,000 boys and girls in non-government lower and upper sixth forms and almost 7,500 in those of state schools, while 75,308 and 38,607 sat for O level in the respective 4th forms in that year. The effect of this and other government policies on the independent schools will be considered in a later chapter.

CHAPTER II – THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR PROPER

Although two Catholic Schools for Girls were founded in the 90s by the Dominican Sisters in Bulawayo and Salisbury alongside Catholic and other denominational Mission schools, there was no great call for private education for Whites until the 1950s, since the children of settlers were assured of a good grammar school education in the Government A schools. Of the independent Trust Schools now in membership of the Conference of Heads of Independent Schools in Zimbabwe, the oldest is the non-denominational Lilfordia School, founded in 1910 in Harare. What are now Eaglesdale High School and Junior School were founded there in 1911 as Bothashof to give Dutch Reformed education to Dutch settlers. The Anglican Bishopslea Preparatory School for Girls, also in Harare, began in 1923 as Bishopslea St. Mary's Diocesan School, to be followed by Chisipite Junior School for Girls and in Marondera by Ruzawi School, an Anglican boarding prep school, in 1929. Whitestone Preparatory School in Bulawayo, now a large school of more than 500 boys and girls, came next in 1942. The majority of the 35 schools now in membership of the Conference and the Association of Trust Schools either date from the 50s, when there was an influx of new settlers and professional people from Europe and South Africa or were founded during the last ten years, when, as a result of the 'Gleichschaltung' of the two educational systems after the creation of the New Republic and the drop in standards which followed, many White and upcoming Black parents turned to the independent schools.

The 1950s saw a number of major foundations – The Christian Brothers' College, a Roman Catholic senior boys' school in Bulawayo, in 1953; Falcon College, an interdenominational boarding school for boys in the bush some 40 kilometres from

Bulawayo, and Chisipite Senior School for Girls in Harare, also interdenominational, in 1954; Arundel School (girls) in Harare and Peterhouse, a boys' boarding school near Marondera, in 1955; and St. John's Prep School in Harare in 1956. All are schools in the British tradition which enjoy considerable prestige both socially and academically. Like most other schools in Zimbabwe all but Peterhouse and Falcon cater for boarders and day pupils alike. The Christian Brothers' school belongs to an international group of schools run by the Order, which has Headquarters overseas. A Catholic junior school, St. Thomas Aquinas, in Bulawayo also dates from 1956. Two Jewish junior schools, Carmel and Sharon, date from 1958 and 1964 respectively.

The troubled 60s and 70s saw no further new foundations until the creation of Zimbabwe. Many White Rhodesians left the country and the supply of children from Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and Moçambique dried up. Two junior schools, the Hellenic School in Harare and the Murray McDougall School in Triangle, were founded in 1979 and since 1980 new members of CHISZ include 7 new senior schools and 10 primary or preparatory schools, some of which have special religious affiliations – like the fundamentalist Midlands Christian Colleges in Gweru and Gateway School in Harare. Others have grown up to serve country districts or the employees of big companies. Watershed College in the bush near Marondera is a new (1987), mainly boarding co-educational school specialising in technical and agricultural training as well as the normal academic subjects. With some exceptions, notably Peterhouse Girls' (1987) and St. John's College (1986) in Harare, these new schools are different in ethos from and less traditionally élitist than earlier foundations and draw their clientèle more especially from upwardly mobile sections of the population.

Apart from the two Catholic schools listed as members of CHISZ, there are four Roman Catholic schools – the Jesuit St. George's, the two Dominican Sisters schools and a school in Gweru – which were formerly in membership. They reluctantly withdrew in 1983 at the request of the Bishops' Council. The Council, responsible for a large network of Mission schools for Africans, apparently wished not to appear to oppose the government's socialist educational views, though it finally rejected a government demand for the inclusion of a politically oriented social science course in the curriculum. St. George's in Harare can claim parity with the best Trust schools and its Old Boys are very influential in the community. Its last Rector is now Headmaster of Stoneyhurst in the UK.

CHAPTER III – THE LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

Until the creation of Zimbabwe in 1980 the Trust schools and their Catholic counterparts enjoyed much the same degree of autonomy and shared many of the educational traditions of their British progenitors. The new regime, with its Marxist-socialist predilections, was in principle hostile to a system which appeared to promote privilege and élitism, though a necessary pragmatism inspired by economic stringencies and the need for European expertise and its transmission to future African managers showed the importance of compromise and ruled out the establishment of the single, lay state system of education beloved of left-wing theorists. As was made clear in an earlier section, the new system, like its predecessor, was based almost entirely on grant-aided Mission and other non-government schools supplemented by a small number of Government schools, and accepted the continued existence of Trust schools under new stricter controls.

I have argued elsewhere that what decides the size, composition and degree of independence enjoyed by any independent sector and the extent of equality of opportunity to choose for parents in a country is largely determined by four factors, namely:

1) the nature of existing constitutional and legal guarantees of the rights of parental choice and freedom of belief and association;

2) the extent of and conditions for direct subsidy to schools from public funds and of indirect subsidy through the provision of public services and taxation relief; and, whether there is subsidy or not, the nature and extent of government control of financial accounts, buildings, attendance, admissions, curricula, examinations and the certification and employment of teachers;

3) the amount of indirect aid available to parents by way of state or school scholarships, remission of fees, tax deductions for school fees and charitable donations to schools;

4) the historical development of educational patterns and social mores; and in particular the role of the churches in education, either within the state sector or – as is largely true in most European countries, in America and in the Antipodes – as part of the independent sector.

In terms of this analysis the position of the Independent Schools in Zimbabwe may be summarised as follows:

Factors 1 and 2: Constitutional guarantees and legal controls

The Constitution of Zimbabwe includes the following clauses:

> 20.(1) Except with his own consent or by way of parental discipline, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions and impart ideas and information without interference and freedom from interference with his correspondence.
>
> 20.(3) No religious denomination and no person or group of persons shall be prevented from establishing and maintaining schools, whether or not that person or group is in receipt of any subsidy, grant or other form of financial assistance from the state.
>
> 20.(4) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law to be held to be in contravention of subsection 3 to the extent that the law in question makes provision (a) in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health or town and country planning; or (b) for regulating such schools in the interests of persons receiving instruction therein; except so far as that provision or, as the case may be, the thing done under the authority thereof is shown not to be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.
>
> 20.(5) No person shall be prevented from sending to any school a child of whom that person is parent or guardian by reason only that the school is not a school established or maintained by the state.

These clauses appear to offer reasonable safeguards for freedom of parental choice in education and for the existence of independent schools in line with general practice in democratic countries. However, in Zimbabwe the independence of the Trust schools and their Catholic counterparts and of the grant-aided Mission schools must be assessed in relation to a new Education Act passed in 1987 which is more restrictive than the previous Act passed in 1980 and marks a further reduction in their autonomy despite the fact that one of its stated objectives is 'the provision of a varied, comprehensive and developing educational service'.

> Part 1 of the Act defines two categories of school: 'Government school' meaning any school administered and controlled by the Ministry and 'non-Government' school, defined as 'any school which is not a Government school, whether or not it receives aid from the State'. It excludes from provisions of the Act three categories of institution: the University

of Zimbabwe, any insitutions controlled by another Ministry or by separate legislation, and any institution providing solely religious, social or recreational education, and gives the Minister power to exempt a school which applies to him from any or all of its provisions.

This means that in law there is no distinction in rights or status between Trust schools and Mission schools.

Part V of the Act spells out in section 21 the extent of government control and aid. All schools must be registered, and, except for fees in existence before the Act's ratification, must have government approval for new charges. No approved fee may be increased by more than 10% without the Permanent Secretary's approval, and application for new fees or increases must provide full details of the reasons and use intended.
Section 23 in Part VIII provides 1) for yearly grants to all registered schools in respect of each enrolled pupil towards the cost of tuition and where relevant of boarding; and 2) for a grant to cover the aggregate of teachers' salaries, calculated on the pupil-teacher ratio obtaining in a Government school and on a scale not less nor greater than that of a teacher with equivalent qualifications, experience and service employed by the Government. A further paragraph limits the salary grant applicable to Heads to those whose appointment is submitted to the Ministry. For this reason Heads of private schools are not recognised as 'substantive'.

Under this section Trust schools, like Mission schools, receive $10 per senior pupil per annum and up to $22 for juniors. Teachers' subsidy is based on a ratio of 20:1 in the VIth Form, 30:1 for the O level and preceding years, 33:1 for the first two secondary years and 40:1 in primary schools. Both government and non-government schools are forced to supplement income by fees to maintain reasonable standards and, where inflation exceeds permitted increases, to add semi-voluntary levies to make up the difference.

Section 53 gives the Minister authority to control the conduct and behaviour of teachers by disciplinary regulations. Further general clauses regulate the use of English and African languages in primary schools and authorise the Secretary to determine the curricula and the examination system which must be the same for all schools. The Minister is able to make regulations about the exercise of discipline including corporal punishment, suspension and expulsion; in respect of attendance and conduct in school and in public; about religious instruction, school holidays, the size of classes and hours of instruction.

It will be clear that, if he so wishes, the Minister is in a position legally to enforce uniformity of practice on schools of all types and so to remove from independent schools most of their freedom to regulate their own affairs according to their different philosophies and beliefs and to respond to the wishes of parents. The Trust Schools have four further main areas of concern: firstly, under enrolment, the absence of recognition of the right to select pupils stated in the previous act, and of provision for retaining 'religious or cultural identity'; secondly, the dangerous and unspecific powers for control of fees and the unrealistic 10% limit when inflation is running at more than 16%; thirdly, the absolute powers given to the Secretary over curriculum and examinations which have already been responsible for changes in O level examinations and restrictions on the choice of syllabuses detrimental to the more able candidates and have prohibited direct dialogue between schools and their examining body; fourthly, the interference with the conditions of service of teaching staff permitted by section 53. Overall, the effect of the law is to deprive Governing Bodies of their full authority in all their main functions and to give endless scope for interference by Ministry officials and Ministry regulations in the daily conduct of the schools. They fear that the appetite of dogmatic politicians and bureaucrats may grow by what it feeds on but see no advantage in rejecting subsidies, since to do so would not in any way increase their independence of government under the Act.

Factor 3: Indirect aid

While there is no question of tax-relief in respect of school fees or for charitable donations to schools, many parents receive help with fees from their employers or by reduced costs in company schools. Bursaries and scholarships are regularly awarded by schools and the Central Bursary Fund, which is sustained by donations from companies and charitable trusts and to which all Trust schools have access, provides Bursaries for able African children. The more a school can raise for its own fund, the greater the share it receives from the Central Bursary Fund. In 1987 25 Trust schools with some 8,000 pupils on roll spent more than $500,000 on bursaries and the Central Bursary Fund contributed $200,000.

Few schools have endowments apart from buildings and land, and they depend on often generous donations from parents, business and commerce and well-wishers, and on ingenious plans for self-help by fund-raising.

Factor 4: Historical and social influences, with special reference to the role of the Churches

As the earlier historical summary made clear, the Catholic and Protestant Churches were from the beginning the main providers of education for Africans in their Mission schools, which educate 90% of all pupils in the 'non-government' section of the state system. The earlier Trust Schools inherited the British tradition of 'godliness and good learning' from their English models and are directly affiliated to one of the Churches or confess interdenominational Christianity. They have now been joined by schools in the Jewish and Greek tradition, who share their emphasis on spiritual values, and more recently by evangelical Christian schools. With the Mission schools for Africans they represent a powerful counterbalance to official socialist materialism. It is clear that their influence in the development of the new society should tend to encourage the variety of belief and allegiance which is essential to true democracy. How far it will in fact be able to do so will depend on the government's use of the draconian powers of control available to it under the Act. The role and future of the Trust Schools will be considered in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV – THE ORGANISATION, ROLE AND FUTURE OF THE TRUST SCHOOLS

The 35 schools now in membership of the Conference of Heads of Independent Schools in Zimbabwe, most of whom are also affiliated to the Association of Governing Bodies of Trust Schools, educate some 10,000 pupils at primary and secondary level, of whom roughly 300 are from non-resident families – i.e. diplomats, workers for aid organisations and expatriates living in Zimbabwe – and from neighbouring territories. Together with the small group of similar Catholic schools already referred to, they can rightly claim to inherit an established tradition of non-racial selection, of sound and in some cases high academic standards and achievement over a comparatively wide range of ability and of widely-ranging extra-curricular activities especially in games and sport. By reason of cost as well as their educational aims they are in essence élitist as are their equivalent schools in the UK and since they are expensive, despite government subsidies, they are liable to at least ritual attack from egalitarian-minded supporters of government for demanding excessive fees. As was made clear in the historical summary in Chapter III, the new foundations of the present decade are evidence of a widening appeal to former White users of the state schools, to upwardly mobile Africans and to ethnic and religious groups for whom independent education has a somewhat different significance from

the traditional one.

The Conference and the Association combine, with the help of a newly formed secretariat, to represent their interests with government and the general public and to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and experience. The Conference was founded in 1956 and the Association in 1962 under the Chairmanship of the late Sir Robert Tredgold. Member schools must subscribe to the principle that no pupil may be turned away on grounds of colour or race, must be independent of government control, not be run for private profit and must make proper provision for religious teaching and worship.

Like their equivalents in other countries, their appeal stems not merely from sound academic instruction, insistence on moral standards, discipline and social training, and well-equipped plant and extensive provision for extra-curricular activities but from the sense of involvement in a community to which parents, pupils and staff contribute and belong. A current difficulty, as they recruit increasing numbers of first generation pupils from White and African families, is the reluctance of many of these 'new' parents and especially of African ones, whose tradition of family life is very different from that of Europeans, to support their children by taking part in school activities and sharing in their education – a problem which may only be resolved when the present generation of pupils become the parents of the next generation and enrol their children in their old schools. Even more serious is the loss by emigration both of families whose children have not yet completed their schooling and of old boys and girls who go abroad for university and either do not return or move away later because of dissatisfaction with conditions of professional employment.

How far their present popularity will continue to make possible further expansion must depend on the ability of prospective parents to pay considerable fees from incomes which are subject to rapid and serious inflation. However some 35% of parents are relieved of all or part of their fees by their employers and the schools and the Central Bursary Fund already referred to provide bursaries and scholarships for both White and African pupils of ability.

As in other countries, too, the increasing cost of providing up-to-date buildings for specialist instruction in science, information techology, CDT and the like and expensive equipment to fit them out is a burden to schools which for the most part lack endowments and must look to the generosity of parents and charitable trusts and welcome but not entirely disinterested benefactions from industry.

Many schools, too, in common with the Mission schools, have benefited from donations from the Beit Trust, founded by a German-born friend of Cecil Rhodes. Like the Rhodes Trust itself it is administered from London by Trustees. It contributed very generously in the past to the foundation of schools like Peterhouse and Ruzawi and of the University of Rhodesia and has continued to finance the building of libraries and laboratories in Trust and Mission schools. Like the Rhodes Trust it also supports post-graduate research students at British and other universities.

Some of the newer foundations have financed their initial buildings by selling 'seats' (i.e. the right to a school place) for a capital sum to intending parents or firms, a practice which the older schools have discontinued. It tends to limit freedom of recruitment and, especially when the majority of governors are parents, may put the long-term development of the school at risk.

For all schools, the adverse exchange rate and the strict control by government of purchase of foreign exchange severely limit the purchase of books and mechanical

aids like computers and prevent the engagement of teachers from overseas to offset the severe shortage of qualified graduates. Trust schools have, for this reason, set up their own scheme to encourage their pupils to train for teaching. For similar reasons their pupils face real difficulties in paying for university places abroad. Those who can afford it or win one of the diminishing numbers of scholarships there go to South Africa, but, with an adverse exchange rate, the cost of fees for courses in Great Britain, in Europe and in the States is beyond the resources of all but the wealthiest unless they have overseas funds or their children qualify for scholarships. Furthermore the Reserve Bank is capricious in granting and continuing permits for foreign exchange to those who have the necessary Zimbabwean dollars. It is sad to record that while many would qualify for and prefer a British university, some have been induced to accept awards in Warsaw Pact countries.

Both the schools and their pupils show great enterprise in by-passing these very real difficulties, some of which they of course share with their counterparts in Europe and elsewhere, but the restrictions on personal choice and corporate effort which result from them are a cause for concern. Compared with many African countries, Zimbabwe has made real progress towards the establishment of a tolerant multicultural society and the Trust schools have made and wish to continue to make a real contribution to its development by their open-door policy towards Africans and Asians who wish to take advantage of their pattern of education. Whether they expand further will clearly depend mainly on three things – firstly, on the government continuing to favour a mixed economy to which Whites and Africans contribute according to their means and ability at the expense of Marxist-socialist dogma and on its ability to lessen the effects of inflation and exchange controls; secondly, on there being no further tightening of the virtually complete powers of control of non-government schools available to it under the terms of the 1987 Education Act; and thirdly, on its ability to improve standards in and so increase the attractiveness of state schools for those African and White parents who are now opting for the independent sector for the first time. President Mugabe has gone out of his way to recognise them by accepting invitations to speech-days and relations with Ministry officials continue to be friendly, but their independence is both more limited and more precarious than is conducive to variety and innovation in education. The preferred solution would be the inclusion of the Trust schools in the list of those exempted from the provisions of the Education Act in Part 1, section 3b, which would for the duration of the Act at least give them the freedom they desire but might cost the subsidies they now receive. Their strength lies in their acknowledged ability to contribute to the provision of the able, trained and socially-motivated men and women who are essential for the future success of the new society. For a visitor, it was encouraging to meet old pupils both White and African who combined all these qualities and were aware how much there was to do.

Zambia, Malawi and Botswana

Like their richer neighbour Zimbabwe, these three countries first came into contact with Britain in the middle years of the 19th century through the missionary-explorers. Botswana, in conflict with the Boers, became a British Protectorate in 1895, and gained independence in 1964 under Seretse Khama. Northern Rhodesia or Zambia, as it is now known, fell under British influence at the turn of the century by reason of the Charter granted to Rhodes' British South Africa Company, became the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia in 1911 and was administered by the Colonial Office from 1924. In 1953 it became a member of the short-lived Central African Federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation was dissolved in 1963 in the face of African demands for independence in which Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was prominent. He became the first President of Zambia on the declaration of independence in 1964. In Nyasaland a similar course of events brought Dr. Kamuzu Banda to prominence and in 1964 to the Presidency of the new one-party state of Malawi.

In general there is inevitably much in common between these three territories in the development of education under British influence and since independence. As in Zimbabwe the state systems are a combination of government and grant-aided, mainly Mission schools, which no longer charge fees. None of the countries has the kind of organised system of private schools already described in Zimbabwe and during the colonial period before the troubles of the sixties and seventies many children of expatriates and settlers crossed the border into Southern Rhodesia to attend the well-established CHISZ Trust schools. Some cross-border movement has been resumed in the 80s. A small number of private schools, originally founded for expatriates or church-members, follow an English-type curriculum and are independent of the national system, though they must be registered and are subject to a degree of control by the Ministry. Of these some, particularly in Botswana and Zambia, are sponsored and subsidised by mining companies and the like for their employees. These latter are mainly primary/preparatory schools and fees are low in comparison with the rest. By reason of the expanding demand amongst Africans for secondary education and the need for well-equipped personnel, governments which were in principle ill-disposed to private schools have shown themselves not unfriendly to some expansion, as in Zimbabwe.

Zambia has an international school in Lusaka with an American pattern and an English pattern stream. The Mine Trust schools were closed after independence but some seven or more are, with government approval, again flourishing alongside a secondary school working to A Levels. Mission schools, and notably Dominican Convent Schools, are said to have deteriorated as a result of government interference.

In **Malawi** education is very much the private preserve of Dr. Banda, who dominates all aspects of national life. As its Founder and Proprietor (his description in the Prospectus) he is personally responsible for the upkeep and management of Kamuzu Academy, often described as the Eton of Africa, the construction of which, at the end of a dirt road in Mtunthama close to the Kachere tree under which Banda himself was taught by Presbyterian missionaries, was begun in 1978 and completed in 1981. The grandly elaborate buildings set, each with a surrounding garden, in a spacious park are designed to provide secondary education leading to O and A levels

on the pattern of an English academic boarding school. Boarding is provided in roomy study bedrooms for two. Classrooms and labs are equipped to a high standard and the library is modelled on the Library of Congress. The school chapel is interdenominational but reflects Scottish Presbyterian influence. Attendance is voluntary and the Sunday service is designed to cater for all faiths. The official age of entry is 14 but is extended to 16 for some candidates. Selection for the 72 places for Malawians is based on the somewhat doubtful results of the leaving examinations set in primary schools, through which about 5% of the school population gain secondary places, followed by examination and interview at the Academy for some 150 of the most promising boys and girls. Those accepted in 1989 included four from private schools and in addition two foreign students. About one third are girls.

With the exception of a native French teacher the teaching staff consists of English Honours graduates under three year contracts. They are required to have studied Latin for at least two years at school. On Dr. Banda's insistence the curriculum requires all pupils to take Latin and Greek on entry and those who show promise can take these subjects at O and A level, for Dr. Banda believes 'that no man is educated who has not studied the Greeks and Romans'. Extra-curricular activities, too, follow the English independent school pattern and include visits to the UK. There is a House and personal tutor system. Manners, dress and discipline are strictly controlled by staff and the 'Dame'.

The Academy has a governing body nominated by Dr. Banda which includes three or four members from Britain. A number of sub-committees preside over virtually all aspects of life including the appointment of staff, dress, curriculum development and finance, but the Proprietor keeps very closely in touch from a distance through his nominees. Fees, which are the same as those charged for all government boarding secondary schools – 210 quatros per annum – account for about 2% of the Academy's stupendous running costs, all of which are paid by Dr. Banda. Books, uniform and other requirements are free and there are bursaries for the very poor.

The ablest pupils go on to university in the UK and in other countries overseas with the help of government scholarships or continue their studies in Malawi, while the less academic go into the army or find commerical employment. Dr. Banda's aim is clearly to provide Malawi with an élite capable of developing his country in the pattern he prefers. It is a brave experiment, a more thoroughgoing extension of policies in Nigeria and other African countries in the past which have sent chosen pupils straight from the bush to English boarding schools. The best products of Kamuzu gain remarkable poise and ability in a context which is so artificially different from the daily life of the ordinary citizen of Malawi as to make their reintegration difficult, despite some genuine sense of dedication. By no means all those admitted have either the primary training or the ability needed to cope with the curriculum and there is little continuity in the teaching staff since comparatively few of them renew their three-year contracts. Nevertheless Kamuzu is a truly remarkable institution as an embodiment of Dr. Banda's belief in the value of traditional Western European ideals in education.

Kamuzu apart, the independent sector includes the entirely independent Phoenix School and a group of one secondary, St. Andrew's, and six junior schools which feed it, the best known of which is Bishop Mackenzie's. The group is controlled by what is called the Designated Board. The Board's members are nominated by Dr. Banda and have in the past been removed from office by him for proposals with which he disagreed. Originally founded for expatriates they now have a mixed intake of Europeans, Africans and Asians in more or less equal proportions.

In **Botswana**, where primary eduation is officially given in the native language, Setswana, in government and aided Mission schools, there is a number of private English-medium primary schools in the capital Gabarone and the main towns and villages. Despite their high fees, they are much sought after. The English-medium schools financed by the Mining Corporations cater almost entirely for children of European and African employees. At secondary level there are nineteen Government schools and four independently owned Mission schools which are largely dependent on government funding for ca[illegible]l as well as running costs. At Junior Secondary level their work is supplemented by a hundred or more Community Junior Secondary Schools whose expense is shared between the local community and central government.

Maru-a-Pulu is the only fully independent secondary school. It is a 'progressive' multiracial and co-educational day and boarding school established in 1972 under its first Headmaster, Mr. Deane Yates, a former Head of St. John's School in Johannesburg and more recently a prime mover in the NEST school movement in South Africa. It attracts some pupils from South Africa and other neighbouring countries in addition to children of expatriates working in Botswana and upwardly mobile Botswanians and prepares them for both local and English examinations. An increasing number of parents who can afford to do so send their children to more conventional established schools in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

APPENDIX 1

Some addresses of Private School Associations

SOUTH AFRICA

The Independent Schools Council. National Director: Mr Mark Henning.
General Secretary HMC/APS: Mr Dougal Turner.
31 St. Davids Road,
Houghton,
2196 Johannesburg.
Tel: 11 648 7208. Fax: 648 8411.

(The Council, like ISJC in the UK, is composed of representatives of the Association of Private Schools, (APS), which represents Governing Bodies, the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Private Schools in South Africa (HMC) and the Bursars Association)

The Catholic Institute of Education. Director: Ms Alison Papenfuss.
PO Box 93230,
Yeoville 2143,
Johannesburg.
Tel: 11 433 1888.

The South African Board of Jewish Education. Director: Mr. Meish Zimerman.
PO Box 46204,
Orange Grove 2119.
Tel: 11 485 1214. Fax: 485 1350.

The South African Association of Independent Schools.
c/o Mr. M.A.S. Corke,
St. Barnabas College,
PO Box 88188,
Newclare 2112.
Tel: 11 474 2055.

The New Era Schools Trust,
28 St. Patrick Road,
Houghton 2198.
Tel: 11 648 4327.

ZIMBABWE

The Secretary of the Association of Governing Bodies of Trust Schools and the Council of Heads of Independent Schools is:
Mrs Dorothy Twiss,
7 Colnebrook Lane,
PO Chisipite,
Harare.
Tel: 884249.

NATIONAL ISIS
56 Buckingham Gate
London, SW1E 6AG
Tel: 071-630 8793/4
National Director: D. J. Woodhead

ISIS – the Independent Schools Information Service – was founded in 1965 and became a national organisation in 1972. It is largely financed by the leading associations of independent schools in Britain which have 1,380 schools in membership.

It was founded:

1. to inform the public of the true nature of independent schools and of their value to the nation;
2. to answer parents' questions about independent schools and to help them with their educational problems. This service is provided in London and at eight regional offices covering the UK and Eire.

ISIS International runs consultancy, placement and clearing house services for parents seeking independent schools for their children in Britain.

The ISIS Association was formed in 1974 for friends and supporters of independent schools. Subscription is £10 a year (£12 overseas) and enables members to receive termly newspapers, ISIS literature and other benefits.

ISIS's Research Project was set up in 1981 under Mr. Peter Mason, MBE, former High Master of Manchester Grammar School, as Honorary Director.

Peter Mason, MBE, former High Master of The Manchester Grammar School, is Honorary Director of the ISIS National Research Project. His address is Leeward, Longborough, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire, GL56 0QR (Telephone Cotswold (0451) 30147), from which further information may be obtained.

Mr. Mason has travelled and lectured widely in Europe, Africa, India, North America, Australia and New Zealand, and has writen numerous articles on education for national and specialist journals and magazines in Britain, Europe and the US. He is a member of the British Educational Research Association and of the American Association for Research on Private Education.

He has served as Chairman of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the British Volunteer Programme and the Regional Conference for International Voluntary Service – a European co-ordinating organisation for voluntary service in the Third World – and is currently the representative of the Independent Schools Joint Council on and Chairman of the European Council of National Associations of Independent Schools (ECNAIS) which was established in 1988. He is a Governor of an independent boys' school and a girls' boarding school in the UK and of an English co-educational day and boarding school in Spain and is Chairman of an Educational Trust.

ISIS DOCUMENT No. 33, MAY 1990

Further copies of this document may be obtained from National ISIS, 56 Buckingham Gate, London, SW1E 6AG. Price £5.00 (including inland postage and packing).

Copies of *Private Education in the USA and Canada* (£2.00) and of *Private Education in Australia and New Zealand* (£2.00) are also available. For both documents the price includes inland postage and packing.

***Private Education in the EEC* is no longer in print. A revised edition covering both the EC and other European countries is in preparation.**

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